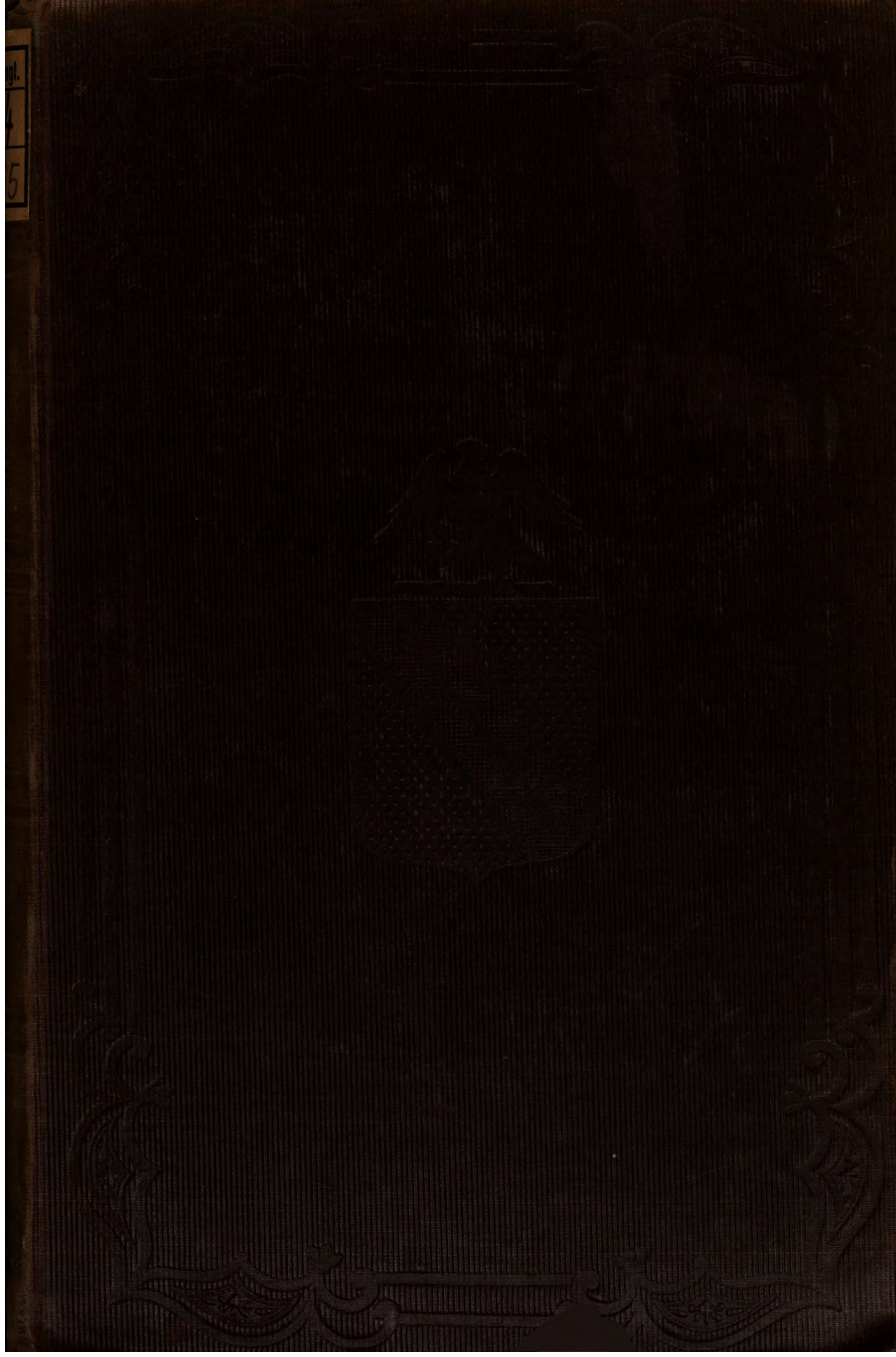


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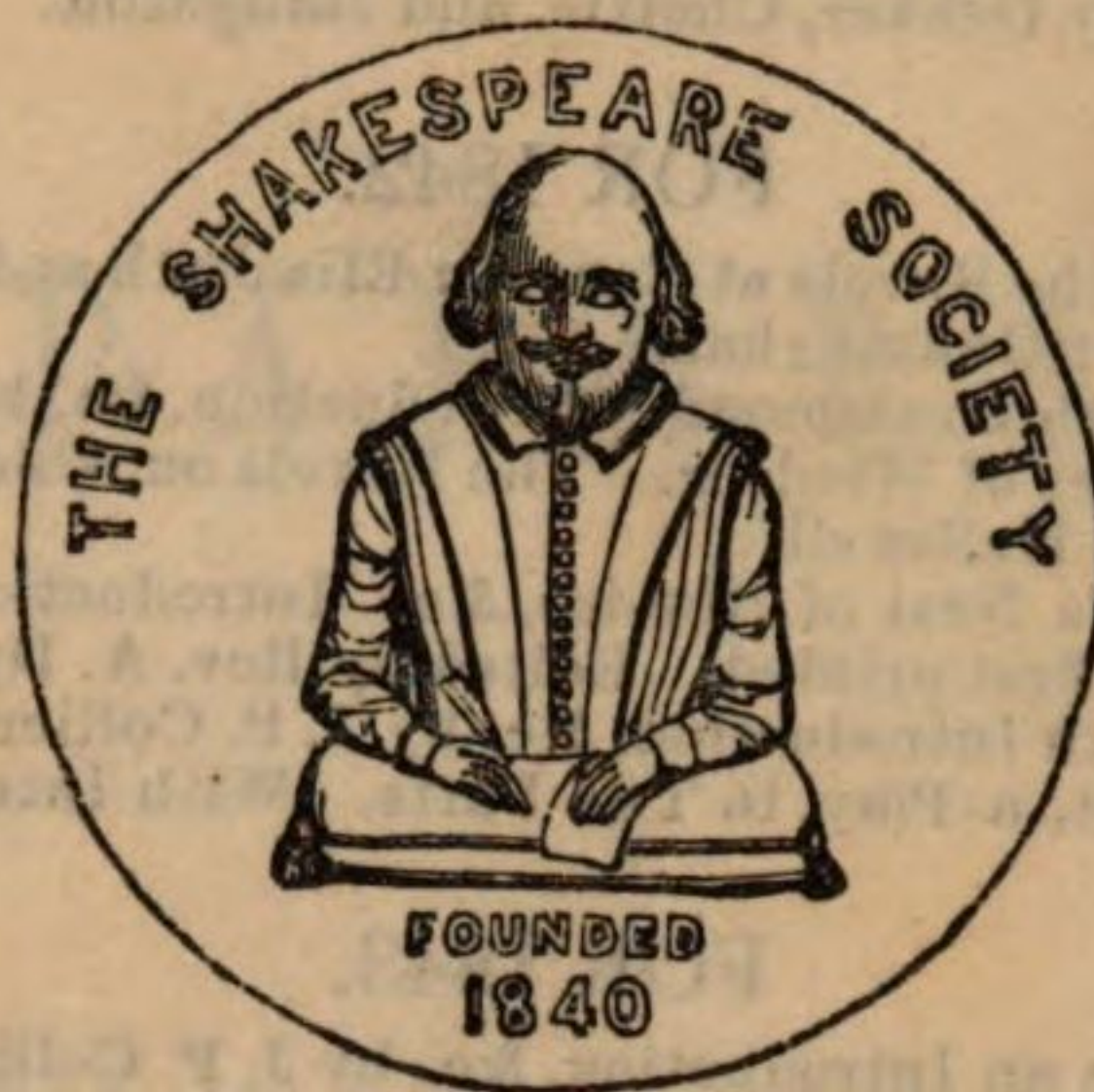
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October, 1847.

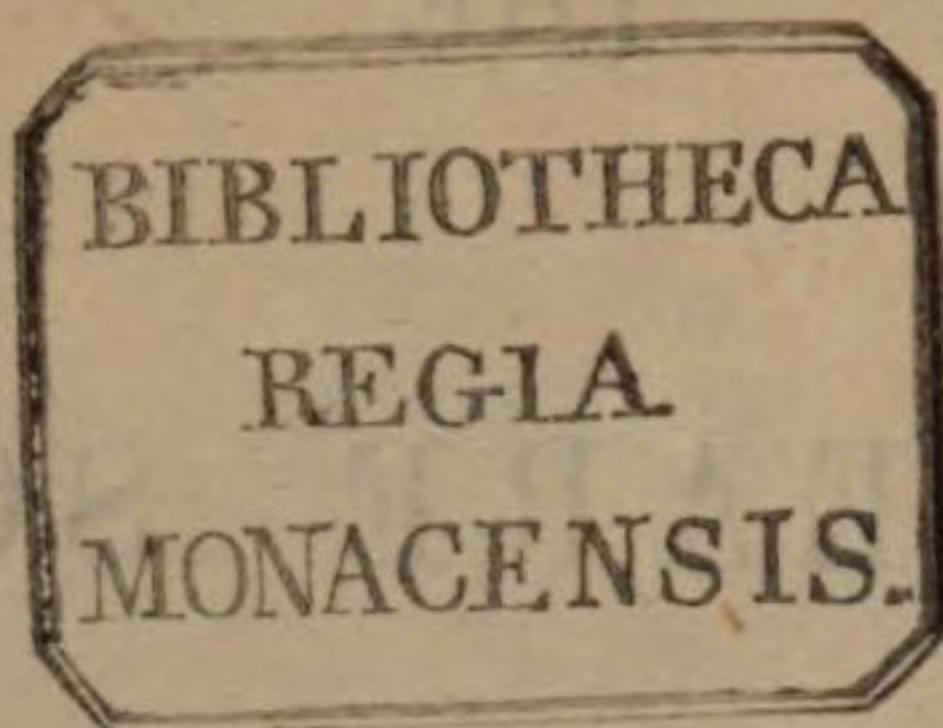
THE
SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY'S
P A P E R S.

VOL. III.



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1847.



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THE
SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY'S
P A P E R S.

ART. I.—*A new Document regarding the authority of the Master of the Revels over Play-makers, Plays, and Players, in 1581.*

I send for insertion in the next volume of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers" what I am entitled to call one of the most curious documents connected with the history of our stage, only two or three years before our great dramatist became a writer for, and an actor upon it. Moreover, it is quite a novelty, no hint of its existence being anywhere given: it was communicated to me by Mr. Palmer, of the Rolls' Chapel, a short time since, as being on the patent roll,¹ and as unknown to Mr. Payne Collier when he published his "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," in 1831.

It is entitled *Commissio specialis pro Edo. Tylney, Ar. Magistro Revellorum*, and it will be recollected that Edmund Tylney had been appointed Master of the Revels in July, 1579: the document before me bears date 24th December, in the 24th year of Elizabeth; i.e., the day before Christmas, 1581, for the 24th year of her reign did not end until 16th November, 1582. Tylney had therefore been only a short time in office, when he was entrusted with the extraordinary powers communicated to him by this patent.

¹ Rot. Paten. de diversis annis tempore R. Elizabeth.

It will be remarked also, that it preceded the formation of the company of "the Queen's Players," which Howes, in his continuation of Stow's *Annales*, informs us consisted of twelve performers, including Robert Wilson and Richard Tarlton. Sir Francis Walsingham is said to have been instrumental in the selection of the actors; and we know, on the authority of the Accounts of the Expenses of the Revels, that Tylney was sent for by "Mr. Secretary," on 10th March, 1582, "to chuse out a company of Players for her Majesty."¹

That this important theatrical event was contemplated when the subjoined instrument was placed in the hands of Tylney, we need have little doubt: it must, in fact, have been preparatory to it; and anything more arbitrary, or, as we should now call it, unconstitutional, was perhaps never heard of. It seems framed in some degree upon the model of the unrestricted powers, at much earlier dates, given to the Master of the Children of the Chapel, &c., to take boys from the choirs of any cathedrals or churches, in order that they might be employed in the Chapel Royal. Tylney's warrant, however, does not apply to mere singing boys, but to grown men, artificers, actors, and dramatists; and, as will be seen, it is much larger and more imperative in the authority it conveys.

For the purposes of the Revels at Court for the amusement of the Queen, it enables Tylney, or his deputy, in the first place to command the services of any painters, embroiderers, tailors, property-makers, &c., he thought fit, and, in case of refusal or neglect, to commit them during his pleasure, "without bail or mainprise;" so that they had no remedy but to submit. But the most remarkable part of the Patent comes afterwards, where the same unprecedented power is given to Tylney, or his deputy, to order all players of comedies, tragedies, or interludes, "with their playmakers," to come before him to recite such performances as they were in a condition to represent. Thus actors and poets were put as much at the mercy of Tylney and

¹ Cunningham's Revels' Accounts, p. 186.

his deputy as the commonest workmen he employed; for, if they did not obey his orders, he was to commit them, or any of them, "without bail or mainprize," for an indefinite period, either to enforce compliance, or to punish them for being refractory in the execution of his commands.

Connected with this duty was a power conveyed to Tylney, at his discretion, to reform, or entirely suppress, any of the "playing places" the actors were in the habit of employing for their public exhibitions. Nothing therefore can be more unqualified than the authority given to the Master of the Revels, or his deputy, in all matters relating to the drama and stage in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. The Patent itself is in these terms, the only difference being that I have printed it in words at length, avoiding legal abbreviations, and that I have divided into separate paragraphs, according to the subjects treated, what in the original is in one unbroken mass.

THOMAS EDLYNE TOMLINS.

Islington, 9th April, 1847.

"ELIZABETH BY THE GRACE OF GOD &c. TO ALL MANNER OUR JUSTICES, MAIORS, SHERIFFES, BAYLIFFES, CONSTABLES, AND ALL OTHER OUR OFFICERS, MINISTERS, TRUE LIEGE MEN AND SUBJECTES, AND TO EVERY OF THEM GREETINGE.

"We lett you witt, that We have authorized licensed and commaunded, and by these presentes do authorise licence and commaunde our Welbeloved Edmunde Tylney Esquire, Maister of our Revells, aswell to take and retaine for us and in our Name at all tymes from hensforth, and in all places within this our Realme of England, as well within Franchises and Liberties as without, at competent Wages, aswell all suche and as many Painters, Imbroderers, Taylors, Cappers, Haberdashers,

Joyners, Carvers, Glasiers, Armorers, Basketmakers, Skinners, Sadlers, Waggen Makers, Plaisterers, Fethermakers, as all other Propertie makers and conninge Artificers and Laborers whatsoever, as our said Servant or his assigne, bearers hereof, shall thinke necessarie and requisite for the speedie workinge and fynisheinge of any exploite, workmanshippe, or peece of service that shall at any tyme hereafter belonge to our saide office of the Revells, as also to take at price reasonable, in all places within our said Realme of England, as well within Franchises and Liberties as without, any kinde or kindes of Stuffe, Ware, or Marchandise, Woode, or Coale, or other Fewell, Tymber, Wainscott, Boarde, Lathe, Nailes, Bricke, Tile, Leade, Iron, Wier, and all other necessities for our said workes of the said office of our Revells, as he the said Edmund or his assigne shall thinke behoofefull and expedient from tyme to tyme for our said service in the said office of the Revells. Together with all carriages for the same, both by Land and by Water, as the case shall require.

“And furthermore, we have by these presents authorised and commaunded the said Edmund Tylney, that in case any person or persons, whatsoever they be, will obstinately disobey and refuse from hensforth to accomplishe and obey our commaundement and pleasure in that behalfe, or withdrawe themselves from any of our said Workes, upon warninge to them or any of them giuen by the saide Edmund Tylney, or by his sufficient Deputie in that behalfe to be named, appointed for their diligent attendance and workmanship upon the said workes or devises, as to their naturall dutie and alleigeance apperteineth, that then it shalbe lawfull unto the same Edmund Tilney, or his Deputie for the tyme beinge, to attache the partie or parties so offendinge, and him or them to commyt to warde, there to remaine, without baile or maineprise, untill suche tyme as the saide Edmund, or his Deputie, shall thinke the tyme of his or their imprisonment to be punishment sufficient for his or their saide offence in that behalfe; and that done, to enlarge

him or them, so beinge imprisoned, at their full Libertie, without any Losse, Penaltie, Forfaiture, or other damage in that behalfe to be susteined or borne by the saide Edmunde Tilney, or his said Deputie.

“ And also, if any person or persons, beinge taken into our said workes of the said office of our Revells, beinge arrested, comminge or goinge to or from our saide Workes of our said office of our Revells, at the sute of any person or persons, then the said Edmunde Tilney, by vertue and authoritie hereof, to enlarge him or them, as by our speciall protection, duringe the tyme of our said workes.

“ And also, if any person or persons, beinge reteyned in our said workes of our said office of Revells, have taken any manner of taske worke, beinge bounde to finishe the same by a certen day, shall not runne into any manner of forfeiture or penaltie for breakinge of his day, so that he or they, ymmediatly after the fynishinge of our said workes, indevor him or themselves to fynishe the saide taske worke.

“ And furthermore, also, we have and doe by these presents authorise and commaunde our said Servant, Edmunde Tilney, Maister of our said Revells, by himselfe or his sufficient Deputie or Deputies, to warne, commaunde, and appointe, in all places within this our Realme of England, as well within Franchises and Liberties as without, all and every plaier or plaiers, with their playmakers, either belonginge to any Noble Man, or otherwise, bearinge the Name or Names of usinge the Facultie of Playmakers, or Plaiers of Comedies, Trajedies, Enterludes, or what other Showes soever, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes, to appeare before him, with all suche Plaies, Tragedies, Comedies, or Showes as they shall have in readines, or meane to sett forth, and them to presente and recite before our said Servant, or his sufficient Deputie, whom wee ordeyne, appointe, and authorise by these presentes of all suche Showes, Plaies, Plaiers, and Playmakers, together with their playinge places, to order and reforme, auctoris and put downe, as shalbe

thought meete or unmeete unto himselfe, or his said Deputie, in that behalfe.

“ And also, likewise, we have by these presentes authorised and commaunded the said Edmund Tylney, that in case if any of them, whatsoever they bee, will obstinatelie refuse, upon warninge unto them given by the said Edmund, or his sufficient Deputie, to accomlishe and obey our commaundement in this behalfe, then it shalbe lawful to the saide Edmund, or his sufficient Deputie, to attache the partie or parties so offending, and him or them to commytt to Warde, to remayne, without bayle or mayneprise, untill suche tyme as the same Edmund Tylney, or his sufficient Deputie, shall thinke the tyme of his or their ymprisonment to be punishment sufficient for his or their said offence in that behalfe; and that done, to inlarge him or them so beinge imprisoned at their plaine Libertie, without any losse, penaltie, forfeiture, or other Daunger in this behalfe to be susteyned or borne by the said Edmund Tylney, or his Deputie, any Acte, Statute, Ordinance, or Provision, heretofore had or made, to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

“ Wherefore we will and commaunde you, and every of you, that unto the said Edmund Tylney, or his sufficient Deputie, bearer hereof, in the due execution of this our authoritie and comaundement ye be aydinge, supportinge, and assistinge from tyme to tyme, as the case shall require, as you and every of you tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrarie at your uttermost perills. In Witnesse whereof, &c., Witnes our selfe at Westm. the xxiiijth day of December, in the xxiiijth yere of our Raigne.

Per Bre. de Privato Sigillo.

ART. II.—*Illustration of "Fortune by Land and Sea," a play by Heywood and Rowley.*

There is a tract in the Bodleian Library, among the books of Bishop Tanner, which materially illustrates Heywood and Rowley's play of "Fortune by Land and Sea," not long since printed by the Shakespeare Society. I shall therefore send a few extracts from it, in the expectation that they will find a place in the third volume of the "Papers."

It seems tolerably certain, from what is said by Mr. Field in his Introduction, that the drama was written and acted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but there is a piece of internal evidence upon this point, to which the learned editor has not adverted. It is contained in the last scene of Act iii., where the Pursuivant and the Clown publish the proclamation against two pirates, there named Purser and Clinton, ending with "God save *the Queen*;" which, of course, would not have been the case, if the drama had been written in the reign of James I., upon incidents that then occurred.

The illustration derived from the Bodleian Library tends to establish the same point. Only Purser and Clinton are mentioned in the play; and in Scene 2 of Act v. they are led out to execution; but the tract before me shows that a third offender was executed at the same time, and had been concerned with Purser and Clinton in their piracies: this man was named Arnold, who was not necessary to the purpose of the dramatists, and therefore forms no character in their play. If the tract had been dated, it would have proved the year in which all three suffered at Execution Dock; but it is not a narrative of that event, but stanzas supposed to have been written by each culprit (and subscribed with their names) shortly before they were hanged. It was printed by John Wolfe, and the type and other circumstances show that it must have appeared some years before 1600. I copy the title-page exactly.

“CLINTON, PURSER, and ARNOLD to their Countrymen, wheresoever. Wherein is described by their own hands their unfeigned penitence for their offences past: their patience in welcoming their Death, and their duetiful minds towards her most excellent Majestie.—London. Imprinted by John Wolfe, and are to be sold at the middle shop in the Poultry, joyning to S. Mildredes Church.”

This publication explains how it happened that, on page 70 of Mr. Field's reprint of “Fortune by Land and Sea,” Clinton calls Purser Tom Watton—

“Thinks Tom Watton,
Whom storms could never move, nor tempests daunt,
Rocks terrify,” &c.

Watton was a misprint for Walton, unless we suppose that the man's real name was Watton, and not Walton. It is easy to imagine that he obtained the sobriquet of “Purser,” from the office he held among the crew; but his true name was certainly Walton, or Watton, for he subscribes the stanzas printed in his name,

“THOMAS WALTON, *alias* PURSER.”

Mr. Field concludes that Watton is “an *alias* for Purser;” but Purser was in fact an *alias* for Watton, or Walton, and in his supposed poem Walton calls himself expressly “The Purser.” He opens it thus:—

“Lordings, that list to heare a dreery tale,
Where every Comma showes a Corosive,
Set mirth apart, and strike your pleasant saile:
My sighes may serue your loaden barkes to driue
Alongst the shore, where sorrowes ships arriue;
Whose case is such, as when you shall have scand,
Say as you see, and set my sighes on land.

“Not long since, then, I held a haplesse Shippe,
 Precisely riggd, and furnisht for the nones :
 Whome nothing craz'd till Fortune gan to trippe,
 And dasht my state so stifly gainst the stones,
 As brake my barke, and brused all my bones ;
 But if I say my sinne deseru'd the same,
 In telling truth I merite meaner blame.”

He afterwards informs us that his capture was effected by “two lofty sail ;” and we may conclude that Heywood and Rowley represented him as having been taken by young Forrest for the purpose of his drama, and not because it was consistent with history. Walton also asserts that he was not the first to open the fire, and concludes with these two stanzas:—

“Some faithlesse French are pleasd to see, perhaps,
 That his goodwill hath wrought him this reward,
 Clapping their hands to heare of his mishaps,
 Which had his realme and rightes in such regard,
 And bet them backe, that els your martres had mar'd ;
 But looke abroad, haue care vnto your roades,
 And cleanse your coastes of such vnseemly toades.

“As for myselfe, I owe a due to Death,
 And I respect it not in that I die,
 Onely the manner of my losse of breath
 Is cause that I for some compassion cry :
 My soule is sau'd, where ere my body lie.
 This makes me sigh, that faith unto my frend
 Hath brought me thus to this vntimely end.”

Arnold, whose poetical address comes next in the tract, does not, like Walton, address himself to the “Lordinges” whom he imagines listening to his story, but to Heaven:—

“*Ne in furore*, oh, my sovereigne God !
 Reprove me not in wrath, I thee desire,” &c.

And afterwards he thus speaks of himself, and of his birthplace and misfortunes :—

“ First then, suppose that you in presence see
 An aged man, of no great personage,
 Yet of a minde, as many others bee,
 More nobly bent than seemed by mine age ;
 Who mongst the thickest thrust vnto the stage,
 To breathe abroad from my constrained brest
 The smoaky reekes of mine extreme unrest.

“ Arnold I hight, by birth a gentleman,
 Of honest parents, and in Hamshire borne,
 Well left to live, when haplesse I began
 In th’ Irish bogges a soldier to be sworne :
 Howbeit, a priest was cause of all my scorne,
 A worthlesse priest, a priest of such despite,
 As shadoweth that which should have given vs light.”

He subsequently adds :—

“ This made me first to set my farmes to sale ;
 This droue poore Arnold out of house and home,
 When I, as rich as he that begs his ale,
 Amongst my friendes enforced was to rome ;
 But friendes are fiendes, when friendship should be shown ;
 For when my cause they throughly vnderstood,
 They said they grieved, but could do me no good.”

What Arnold states in the first of the following stanzas is probably historical :—

“ On seas I met a sort of faithles French,
 That through a leake their ship had welny lost ;
 But I in pittie sought the same to stench,

For which good deed they bad me, fare well frost :
 A tunne of coales, nought els my labour cost ;
 These coales by law the jury did convart
 To such a case as cooles me at the hart.

“ Short tale to make, of force I must confesse,
 My God my life no longer would deferre :
 My prince displeasde that I did so digresse,
 To warne the rest, that otherwise might erre,
 To cut me off it also pleased her :
 Yet lives he not that can in conscience say,
 Purser or Arnold made one English praye.”

This poem is subscribed “ Finis. Arnold,” as if the real writer did not know the man’s Christian name ; and the same observation will apply to the effusion attributed to Clinton, which has only “ Finis Clinton ” at the end of it. Clinton, among other things, says of himself—

“ My selfe sometime, not least in Fortune’s love,
 May best giue instance of her great disgrace,
 Which whilom lived amidst the heave and shove,
 And mongst the proudest gaine the chiefest place,
 Till trustlesse she gan turne away her face ;
 Till she (too sharpe) return’d me checke and mate,
 And topside turvey turned mine estate.

“ Besides my selfe who bare so braue a sway ?
 Who raigned more than I that ruld the roast ?
 Who durst resist if I did him gainsay ?
 And boldly be it spoke, withouten boast,
 Who more than Clinton scowrd in euery coast ?
 Who holpe the helplesse more (say what they shall)
 Than Clinton did, that came at every call ?”

Like the two others, he complains that injustice had been

done him in charging him with cruelty; and he dwells upon the malignity of his enemies, observing—

“ Yet such they are as worke my present woe,
 As vnacquainted with my better deedes,
 And I haue rescude many, as they know ;
 But my good workes are choaked vp with weedes,
 Such kankerred malice their supposes feedes.
 The Londoners, whereof I neede not boast,
 Regarde me least, whome I have favoured most.”

He ends with the following appeal to the “ Lordings,” to whom he is offering the excuse and explanation of his conduct:—

“ Loe ! Lordings, thus I leaue my last adue
 For you to scan, what ere of me become.
 ’Twere vaine for me to tell that were vntrue ;
 You may belieue what I herein have done:
 My paine is past, though yet my glasse doth runne.
 This grieues me most, that many a poore man lackes
 The gelt that I have giuen the sea by sackes.”

I am not aware that it is necessary to add anything to the above, beyond the remark, that in the Bodleian Library the tract, from which I have quoted somewhat at large, is considered *unique*, no other copy of it being known. It would entitle each of these parties to a place in Ritson’s “ Bibliographia Poetica,” where however they are not found, nor in any other work of the same kind that I have been able to consult. I have also searched in vain in Mr. Heber’s, Mr. Bright’s, and other sale-catalogues.

OXONIENSIS and a MEMBER.

February 21, 1847.

ART. III.—*Heming's Players in the reign of Henry VIII.*

The intimate and deeply interesting connection that subsists between the name of Heminge and Shakespeare will, I conceive, render any record, however minute, in which that name occurs, if hitherto unpublished, acceptable to the Shakespeare Society.

It appears from Mr. Collier's "Memoirs of the principal actors in the plays of Shakespeare," that nothing is ascertained as to the parentage of John Heminge, the first editor of Shakespeare; neither is any other person of the same name yet known in connection with our early drama, unless such may be the case with the John Hemings of London, Gent, mentioned in the pedigree referred to by Mr. Collier, and who had "of long time been servant to Queen Elizabeth." This supposition would seem to derive some degree of confirmation from a record I have discovered, in which the name of Heminge occurs at the head of a company of players half a century earlier than the editor of Shakespeare is known to have been connected with theatrical affairs, and which, if it do not actually prove that, like Burbage, Heminge was the son of an actor, renders it exceedingly probable.

From the year 1532, for about the period of a century, the archives of the municipal corporation of Bristol include notices of the visits of different companies of players to that city. These visits, with a few exceptions, took place annually, and frequently included two or three companies, nearly always described as pertaining to the nobility. Up to the date of the exception which relates to Heminge, there are only two more in which they are otherwise designated, the first in 1353, when they are styled the players that came from London; and in 1536 there is an entry of certain boys that playd in the Yeld hall.

The record relating to Heming is thus entered in the Cham-

berlain's accounts from the feast of Michaelmas, in the year 1543, to the same festival, in 1544:—

“ Itm, paid the xvijth day of January to Mr. henings
players v^s.”

It will be observed that the name is spelt with an *n*, instead of an *m*, but which I do not consider of the slightest consequence. It may be an additional variation of the mode of spelling it to those noticed by Mr. Collier; or, what I conceive most probable, it is the result of an oversight of the scribe in omitting the third portion of the *m*. Many slips of the pen occur in the accounts; a few lines after the preceding entry “Demys” is written for Denys.

WILLIAM TYSON.

Bristol, 11th January, 1847.

ART. IV.—*An unknown tract by Philip Stubbes, the enemy of theatrical performances in 1583.*

It was my good fortune, previous to the publication of the last volume of “The Shakespeare Society’s Papers,” to discover, and send for insertion, a tract in verse by Robert Greene, the dramatist, printed in 1591, not mentioned by the Rev. Mr. Dyce in his edition of Greene’s Works, nor by any other person who has written upon our early poets and poetry.

The small prose pamphlet I now transmit is quite as great, though I do not mean to say that it as valuable, a curiosity; and it is by an author quite as notorious, if not as distinguished—Philip Stubbes. All the members of the Shakespeare Society must be aware that he was one of the early puritanical opponents of theatrical performances, having published his “Anatomy of Abuses,” in which he made a furious and immeasured attack upon them and many other popular amusements, in 1583. Anything, therefore, illustrating his character and history will, I imagine, come peculiarly within the objects of an association formed for the purpose of throwing light upon our ancient drama, its friends and foes, and upon any matter connected with them.

Until of late years, little has been known of Stubbes but that he was the writer of “The Anatomy of Abuses;” and some persons have therefore wondered in what way he deserved the character, given of him by Gabriel Harvey in 1593, of being “one of the common pamphleters of London,” coupling him with Armin, the actor, and Deloney, the ballad-writer. Here, however, we have Stubbes appearing to the world in that capacity: his “Anatomy of Abuses” was a volume; but the tract, a faithful transcript of which is herewith sent, is merely a pamphlet, and a very small one, consisting of no more than four or five leaves in large type, and published to take advantage of temporary excitement.

It relates to the treason of Dr. William Parry in attempting the life of Queen Elizabeth in 1585-6, (the very year when Shakespeare is supposed to have come to London) and we may come to the conclusion that it was penned at the instance of some persons in authority, who furnished the writer with a copy of the letter of the Cardinal de Como, in order that the most authentic air might be given to his production on the occasion. Philip Stubbes was perhaps employed in consequence of his popularity as a writer, and of his known and undisguised enmity to popery. This enmity is pretty evident where he declares that "all papists are traitors in their hearts," and argues that it is therefore lawful at once to put them to death.

I shall now merely add the tract, with a facsimile of the title-page, presuming that all are acquainted with the facts connected with Parry's case: those who wish to refresh their memories regarding the more minute particulars may find them in "Camden's Annals," under the year 1586.

JAMES PURCELL REARDON.

19th January, 1847.

PS. Since the above was written, singularly enough, another extraordinarily rare tract by Stubbes has fallen in my way, which has more pretensions than what follows, as there are two poems of considerable length included in it. Ritson seems to have had some knowledge of it, but he could never have seen it, as he altogether mistakes the nature of its contents. I shall reserve it for the next volume of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers."

THE
INTENDED Treason,
of Doctor Parrie,

AND HIS COMPLICES, A-

gainst the Queenes moste

Excellent Maiestie.

With a Letter sent from the Pope
to the same effect.

Imprinted at London for Henry Car, and are to be
solde in Paules Church-yard at the Signe
of the Blazing Starre.

THE TREASON OF

Doctor Parrie againste the

Queenes Maiestie.

The state and condition of these our daies (Christian Reader) is moste to be lamented, or rather to be bewailed with bitter teares. Wherin are found such hollow harted, not Christians but, Tartarians and moste cruel vipers, whose properties as they are to thirst after blood, so they leaue no way vnattempted, no pollicy vnassaied, nor any exploit vnatchiued to bring their bloodthirsty purposes about. The experiment wherof, although many times heartofore to our great greef we

haue tasted, yet now of late to our greater jeopardie and perrill, yea, to our and the whole realmes distruction, and ouerthrowe for euer, we should more truly haue felt indeed, if this bloody purpose of the traiterous papists had not been discouered, for the preuention hearof, and al other the like, the Eternall God be praised. Now, me think I heare it asked, by whome this bloody deed, or rather most cruell massaker of God's anointed, should haue been committed? Truly, by no stranger nor forriner, but euen by one of her maiesties owne natie (but disloyall and moste unnaturall subiect) the trueth wherof was as followeth. One Doctor Parrie, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, being (though beyond his deserts) very deer vnto her maiestie and wel liked of, was by her grace sent ouer Seas in very waighty affaires, which he wel atchiuing, returned home, and no doubt was bountefully rewarded by her grace for his seruice and paines sustained: within a while after this, Doctor Parrie, vnwoorthy the name of a doctor or of a Christian, conspired the death of her maiestie, hauing receiued his fees of the Pope (as it should seem) for the same. For the accomplishing of which most hainous fact, he, with an other, determined to kill her maiestie, sometimes with a dag, sometimes with a poynado or dagger, sometime with one thing, and sometimes with an other. Wel, this platforme being laid, and he hauing promised the Pope to performe the thing, one of his conspirators, through the goodnes of God, disclosed the same; which doon, both he and the said archtraitor Parrie were both apprehended and committed, and vpon the 25 of Februarie the said Parrie was conuaied from the Tower of London to Westminster Hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided.

The Pope, that great Antechriste and rose coullored whore of Roome, as he suborned many heertofore to kill her maiestie, so he hired this traiterous villain Parrie, and therefore sent him a letter dated the 30 of January, 1584, animating, exhorting and perswading him, as he tendered his holynes

fauour, that he would bring to passe and performe this their bloody purpose, and in so dooing he should merit great thanks at his hands; and to the end he should go forward in that wicked enterprise, he graunted him plenarie absolution, indulgence, and remission of sinnes. The which letter was written by the Cardinall of Como. For the farther credit of the thing it selfe, I haue heare set down woord for woord, as it was writ to the said Parrie.

*The copie of the Letter sent
to Doctor Parrie.*

Sir, his Holines hath seen your letters of the first, with the assurance concluded, and cannot but commend the good disposition which you writ to hold towards his seruice and benefit publique.

Wherin his Holines dooth exhorte you to perseuer with causing to be brought to effect that which you promise. And to the end you may be so much the more holpen by that good spirit which hath mooued you therunto, his Holines dooth graunt you Plenary Indulgence, and remission of al your sinnes, according to your request. Assuring you that, besides the merits that you shall receiue therfore in Heauen.

His Holines will further make him selfe debter to acknowledge and requite your deseruinges by all the best meanes he may; and that so much the more, in that you vse the more modestie in not pretending any thing.

Put, therefore, to effect your holy and honorable determinations, and attend your health; and to conclude, I offer my selfe to you hartely, and wish you all good and happy successe. From Rome, the 30 of Ianuary, 1584.

At your commaundement,

N. CARDINALL OF COMO.

Now, whose hart is so stonie, that reading this bloody letter wil not burst foorth in teares? See heer how her grace was

(as it were) bought and solde ; nay, see how bloodely, and how unmercifully, they had murthered her royal maiesty in their harts, if their intended practises had taken expected successe and effect.

What good subiect, now, knowing the Pope and papists to be the instruments of all mischeef, of blood and of treason, wil not abhor and detest both the one and the other ? How many times hath the Pope and papists practised her maiesties distruction ! nay, not onely the distruction of her grace, but also the ouerthrow of the whole realme, the massaker of God's saints, and vtter desolation for euer. And how mercifully, or rather miraculously, hath God preserued her grace, discovered their treasons, laid open their conspiracies, and turned their inuentions to their owne deserued distruction ! How mercifull a watch man hath the Lord been ouer her grace, her people and cuntry these many yeers, defending both the one and the other from all mischeef what soeuer ! how true is it which is written, *He shall giue his Angells charge ouer thee, that thou dashe not thy foot against a stone !* The Lord continue watchman ouer her grace stil, confound her foes, and preserue her maiesty for euer !

God graunt that her maiesty, with her moste honorable counsaile, may sound the depth of these things, and preuent them in time : for the performance wher of, would God papistry might be punished with death (as it ought to be) and that al obstinate papists might sustaine the same punishments which traitors are to sustaine ! for, take this for a maxime, that all papists are traitors in their harts, how soeuer otherwise they beare the world in hand.

And, therefore, how many papists her grace hath in the land, so many deaths may she feare. God graunt that this high Court of Parliament may see to this geare ! For, shall it be lawful for the papists to put to death true professors of God's woord, without lawe, without reason, without conscience, or warrant of the woord of God ; and shall it not be lawful for vs

to inflict the punishment of death vpon them, being traitors to God, their Prince, and cuntry, hauing the law of God vpon our side, reason, good conscience, and els what soeuer? Wel, how soeuer we perswade ourselues, this is certain, that blood, treason, rebellion, insurrections, commotions, mutenies, murther, and the like, are the badges and cognizaunce of them, and of that wicked generation; and let us look for it, they wil be pricks unto our eyes, whips unto our backs, and kniues to cut our throts withall, if time would serue them, which I pray God neuer doo.

In conclusion, in as much as it hath pleased the maiestie of our good God in mercy to preserue her grace heertofore, and especially at this time, not only from imminent dangers, but euen from present death it self,

I beseech all true Christian hartes and louing subiects, euen in the bowells of Jesus Christe, to rest thankfull to God for it; and to pray to God to preserue her grace still, and confound her foes, and to bring to light all treasons and conspiracies what soeuer shall be intended against her Maiestie, that peace may bee in Israell vnto the end of the world. And in the end, when she must yeeld to nature, to receiue her into

his euerlasting kingdome, crowning her with the

immercassible Crowne, and moste

glorious Diadem of

eternal glory.

Amen.

FINIS.

PHILLIP STUBBES, Gent.

ART. V.—*Shakespeare illustrated by the Dialect of Cornwall.*

In the present provincial Dialect of Cornwall there are several words and phrases still in use, that are now obsolete in other parts of the kingdom, but which in the time of Shakespeare were familiar household terms. Having since that age been gradually thrown out of the society of poets and courtiers, they have been retained and fostered by the hospitable inhabitants of the West Country ; and here probably the progress of railroads will ere long level these and other prominent peculiarities. The following examples are given more from a personal knowledge of the dialect, than from any particular research, further than having noted down, on the perusal of Shakespeare and other dramatic writers, passages illustrating these provincialisms. Numerous other examples might be given, but even the following may by some be considered too many.

AFEARD.—This word, for “ afraid,” is so common in Shakespeare and his cotemporaries, that it is scarcely necessary to adduce any example. It would, however, shock the ear now to hear any lady of rank say, with Lady Macbeth—

“ Art thou *afeard*

To be the same in thine own act and valour,

As thou art in desire ?”

Macbeth, i., 7.

Charmian’s remark, “ He is *afeard* to come,” (*Antony and Cleopatra*, ii., 5) is precisely in the words that one Cornishman would now use to another of a companion hanging back from a wrestling-match : “ He is afeard to come.”

ASSINEGO.—“ Thou hast no more brain than I have in my elbows ; an *assinego* may tutor thee : thou scurvy valiant ass !”

says Thersites (*Troilus and Cressida*, ii., 1). So in Cornwall a term of reproach is “thee art an *assneger* ;” though the word is not now much in use, the shorter synonyme of ass, or fool, being perhaps preferred, from its fitting in more readily with the expletive or adjective too frequently prefixed. Welford, in Beaumont and Fletcher’s *Scornful Lady*, (v., 4) says—

“ All this would be forsworn, and I again
An *asinego*, as your sister left me.”

Again, in the *Antiquary*, by Marmion, (v., 1)—

——“ in the interim they apparell’d me as you see, made a fool, or an *asinigo* of me.”

AS LIEF.—“ *Nurse*. She, good soul, had *as lief* see a toad, a very toad, as see him.”—(*Romeo and Juliet*, ii., 5.) “ She’d *as lev* see a toa-ad,” would an old Cornish nurse say.

“ *Clack*. There be as good wenches as you be glad to pay me toll.

“ *Joan*. Like enough, Clack ; I had *as live* they as I, and a great deal rather too.”—*Grim the Collier of Croydon*, ii., 1.

This, with a little variation, and a provincial accent, might pass at the present day.

CALL TO.—Timon uses the expression, “ I’ll call to you,” in the sense of I’ll call on you. (*Timon of Athens*, i., 2.) It is a common expression in the West, “ I’ll call to ” (i.e., at) “ your house.”—“ I’m going to call to Mr. ——’s.”

CENSURE.—This frequently occurs in Shakespeare, and other writers, both as noun and verb, in the sense of opinion, and it was in fact the old acceptation of the word :—

“ *Lucetta*. Pardon, dear madam, ’tis a passing shame
That I, unworthy body as I am,
Should *censure* thus on lovely gentlemen.”

Two Gentlemen of Verona, i., 2.

“*Countess*. Fain would mine eyes be witness with mine ears,
To give their *censure* of these rare reports !”

King Henry VI., Part I., ii., 3.

“*Gloster*. Madam, the king is old enough himself
To give his *censure*.”

Ibid., Part II., i., 3.

“*Richard*. Madam—and you, my mother—will you go
To give your *censure* in this mighty business ?”

Richard III., ii., 2.

“*Theosodius*. Let me be *censured* fond and too indulgent.”

The Emperor of the East, Massinger, iii., 2.

“*Trimtram*. ————— all stick

Fast in *censure*, yet think it strange and rare,
He liv’d by smoke, yet died for want of air.”

A Fair Quarrel, Middleton, iv., 1.

The word is used frequently in the West in the same acceptation, as “I do give my *censure* ’pon it.”—“I *censure*,” &c. ; i.e., I think.

COMFORTABLE.—“*Lear*. I have another daughter,
Who, I am sure, is kind and *comfortable*.”

King Lear, i., 4.

“*Wife*. George, Ralph was ever *comfortable*, was he not ?

“*Citizen*. Yes, duck.

“*Wife*. I shall ne’er forget him. When we had lost our
child—Ralph was the most *comfortablest* to me.”

Knight of the Burning Pestle, B. and F., ii., vi.

This word is frequently used as obliging, pleasant, conformable : a servant will say, “Mistress is a very *comfortable* lady.”—“You’ll find him *comfortable*,” talking of a person who is likely to do what is wanted of him. Mrs. Amlet, in “The Confederacy,” iii., 1, says of her son, “Now the Lord love thee ; for thou art a *comfortable* young man.”

CRANCH.—A word not in Shakespeare, but in Massinger and Jonson. “*Countryman*. We prune the orchards, and you *cranch* the fruit.”—*The Emperor of the East*, iii., 2.

Rut. ————— she can *cranch*

A sack of small coal.”

The Magnetic Lady, i., 1.

Eating apples, &c., is commonly called by the expressive word *cranching* them. “Dont’ee keep sich a noise, then, *cranching* they apples.”

DOLE.—“With mirth in funeral and with dirge in marriage, In equal scale weighing delight and *dole*.”—*Hamlet*, i., 1.

A person in grief or trouble is said in Cornwall to be *bedoled*.

DRUMBLE.—“*Mrs. Ford*. Go, take up these clothes here, quickly; where’s the cowl-staff? look how you *drumble*.”

Merry Wives of Windsor, iii., 3.

A person moving lazily or stupidly is said to *drumble*, and a drone is called a *drumbladrane*; but this insect is rather ill-used, as he is generally pretty active, and very persevering in his musical practice.

FADGE.—“*Viola*. How will this *fadge*? My master loves her dearly,

And I, poor monster, fond as much on him.”

Twelfth Night, ii., 2.

“*Armigero*. We will have, if this *fadge* not, an antic.”

Love’s Labour Lost, v., 1.

“*Bobadilla*. He will never *fadge* with these Toledos.”

Love’s Cure, B. and F., iii., 4.

“*Astley*. — if this Scotch garboils do not *fadge* to our minds, we will pell-mell run amongst the Cornish choughs presently, and in a trice.”

Perkin Warbeck, Ford, iv., 2.

“*Harvey*. But, sirra Ned, what says Mathea to thee?

Wilt *fadge*? Wilt *fadge*? What, will it be a match?"

Englishmen for my Money, Haughton, i., 2.

The word is still used in the West, in the same sense of agreeing, or suiting. "He and she don't *fadge*."—"That waint do, it esn't fitty, it don't *fadge*."—"How do'ee *fadge*?" (i.e., how are you?)

FANG.—"Timon. Destruction *fang* mankind! earth yield me roots!"

Timon of Athens, iv., 3.

Fang is still used as to get; so, earnings are called *fangings*: "I wedn't do et, then; nau, not to *fang* the Queen's crown."

GOWK'D.—"Keep. Nay, look how the man stands as he were *gowk'd*."—*The Magnetic Lady*, iii., 4.

A stupid fellow is called a *gaukum*, (a *gawkey* is common every where) and *goky*, in the old Cornish language, means a fool.

HAVING.—"Autolycus. ——— your names, your ages; of what *having*, breeding, and anything that is fitting to be known, discover."—*Winter's Tale*, iv., 3.

"The gentleman is of no *havings*."

Merry Wives of Windsor.

"Matthew. Lie in a water-bearer's house! a gentleman of his *havings*!"

Every Man in his Humour, iv., 8.

The word *harage*, common in the West, is more usually applied to a person's family, or stock, both as to pedigree and condition, than to his possessions; so that a poor person may be of good *harage*, and the reverse: it is applied also to all ranks. "He is of a good *harage*," would imply the person spoken of to be of good and respectable family; while, being of bad *harage*, would denote the family to have been ill-conducted. So, you may hear, "She have turned out well, though she be comed of bad *harage*."

LATTEN.—“ I combat challenge of this *latten* bilboe.”

Merry Wives of Windsor, i., 1.

“ Upon the est-yate of the toun,

He made a man of fin *latoun*.”

The Seuyn Sages, 1997-8.

The term *latten*, or *latteen*, is now generally applied to tin plate, or iron tinned over.

MOIL.—“ *Phulas*. ——— trot behind me softly,

As it becomes a *moil* of ancient carriage.”

The Broken Heart, Ford, iv., 2.

“ *Spadone*. 'Twould wind-break a *moil*, or a ringed mare, to vie burthens with her.”

The Fancies Chaste and Noble, Ford, ii., 2.

Mules are still called *moiles* in the West.

NONCE.—It is unnecessary to give any examples of this word, it occurs so frequently in the ancient romances, and in the dramatic writers, even beginning with the mysteries and moralities, and making its appearance in Udall's “*Ralph Royster Doyster*,” where Mage Mumblecrust says (i., 3)—

“ And sweete malte maketh joly good ale for the *nones*.”

It is still in common use in Cornwall, with the same meaning; “for the occasion,”—“on purpose,” &c.; as, “He ded it for the *nonce*.”—“Lev us have a dance for the *nonce*.” In the old Cornish language *nans* signified now.

NOUZLE.—“ *Cleon*. Those mothers who, to *nouzle* up their babes,

Thought nought too curious, are ready now

To eat those little darlings whom they lov'd.”

Pericles, i., 4.

“ *Light of the Gospell*. Borne to all wickednesse, and *nusled* in all evyll.”

New Custome, iii., 1.

Nouzle, meaning to nestle or nurse as an infant in its

mother's arms, is still used, and a child is sometimes said to *noozle* the nipple when the mother is nursing it.

PILCHARD. — “*Clown*. No, indeed, sir; the lady Olivia has no folly: she will keep no fool, sir, till she be married; and fools are as like husbands as *pilchards* are to herrings, the husbands the bigger.”—*Twelfth Night*, iii., 1.

This example is given to show Shakespeare's habits of minute observation and ready application. The difference in size and appearance between the two fish would escape the notice of a casual observer. The term *pilchard* seems often to have been used as a term of reproach—a proof that the writer could not have known the luxury of a fresh *pilchard*.

“*Valentine*. Upbraid me with your benefits, you *pilchers*,
You shotten-soul'd, slight fellows!

Wit without Money, B. and F., iii., 4.

“*Clause*. You shall not sink for ne'er a sous'd flap-dragon,
For ne'er a pickled *pilcher* of 'em all, sir.”

Beggars' Bush, B. and F., iv., 1.

“*Clara*. You dog-skin-fac'd rogue, *pilcher*, you poor-john.”

Love's Cure, ii., 2.

“*Dandyprat*. *Pilcher*! thou'rt a most pitiful dried one.”

Blurt, Master Constable, i., 2.

“*Caratach*. Hang up poor *pilchers*.”

Bonduca, B. and F., ii., 3.

Fletcher, in the “*Bloody Brother, or Rollo, Duke of Normandy*,” ii., 2, makes the mistake of placing the *pilchard* subordinate to the herring.

“*Cook*. And brave King Herring, with his oil and onion,
Crown'd with a lemon peel, his way prepar'd
With his strong guard of *pilchers*.”

PILLOW-BEER.—“*Sordido*. ——— take heed your horns do
not make holes in the *pillowbeers*.” — *Women beware Women*,
Middleton, iv., 2.

This word is still used for pillow-cases.

PLANCED.—“*Isabella*. He hath a garden circummur'd
with brick,
Whose western side is with a vineyard back'd,
And to that vineyard is a *planced* gate.”

Measure for Measure, iv., 1.

A wooden floor is called the *planching*, and the room or passage is said to be *planced*. “She lev'd fall the cloam buzza 'pon the *planchen*, and scat it all to midgens and jouds ;” i.e., “She let the earthenware pan fall upon the floor, and broke it all to pieces.” *Plankan*, in the old Cornish, is a plank.

PRANKED.—“*Perdita*. ——— your high self,
The gracious mark o' the land, you have obscur'd
With a swain's wearing ; and me, poor lowly maid,
Most goddess-like *prank'd* up.”

Winter's Tale, iv., 3.

“*Sir Oliver Kite*. I hope to see thee, wench,
within these few years,
Circled with children, *pranking* up a girl,
And putting jewels in her little ears.”

A Chaste Maid in Cheapside, Middleton, iii., 3.

A person dressed out fine is said in the West of England to be *prinked* out.

PUN.—“*Thersites*. He would *pun* thee into shivers with his fist, as a sailor breaks his biscuit.”—*Troilus and Cressida*, ii., 1.

“I'll *poam* thee well,” one countryman will say to another in Cornwall.

SAGG.—“The mind I sway by, and the heart I bear,
Shall never *sagg* with doubt, nor shake with fear.”

Macbeth, v., 3.

To *sagg* is used for to hang down clumsily, or sink down ; applied, for instance, to a bag, or anything hanging in folds, as a curtain or a dress. “This does not hang, or fit well ; it *saggs*.”

SCULL.—“—— anon, he’s there afoot,
And there they fly, or die, like scaled *sculls*
Before the belching whale.”

Troilus and Cressida, v., 5.

This term is usually applied to pilchards, which generally approach the shore in very large masses, that in Cornwall are called *scools*, or *scoles*.

SLIVER.—“There on the pendant boughs her coronet weeds
Clambering to hang, an envious *sliver* broke.”

Hamlet, iv., 7.

“Gall of goat and slips of yew,
Sliver’d in the moon’s eclipse.”

Macbeth, iv., 1.

Sliver is used as a slice, or more properly a slip or splinter, and also as a verb, to cut or divide into splinters.

SOME.—“I have three daughters; the eldest is eleven,
The second, and the third, nine, and *some* five.”

Winter’s Tale, ii., 1.

The same form is occasionally used in the West. “According to my censure, there were twenty or *some* (i.e., about twenty) up to Bâl” (i.e., the mine).

SOUSE.—This word is found in the old dramatic writers, applied to the action of a bird sousing on its prey, as—

“So ho ho! through the skies
How the proud bird flies,
And *sousing*, kills with a grace.”

The Sun’s Darling, Ford and Dekker, iii., 2.

In the West, it is used in the sense of speaking out plainly, or doing a thing in earnest, as well as falling down; as “I tould em the whole coose of et down *souse*.”—“She fall’d down *souse* ’pon the planchen.”

SQUINY.—“*Lear*. I remember thine eyes well enough :

Dost thou *squiny* at me ?”

This word is used for one looking askance, or under the eyelids, as it is called, a kind of magpie-ish look. “I don’t like she, she do *squiny* so.”

STICKLER.—“The dragon wing of night o’erspreads the earth,

And *stickler*-like, the armies separates.”

Troilus and Cressida, v., 9.

Young Forrest. “——— ’tis not fit

That ev’ry prentice should with his shop-club

Betwixt us play the *sticklers*.”

Fortune by Land and Sea, i., 4.

The umpires or managers of a wrestling-match are to this day called *sticklers*.

TILLY-VALLEY.—“Am not I consanguineous? am not I of her blood? *Tilly-valley*! lady!”—*Twelfth Night*, ii., 3.

The expression occurs also in other plays, and is said to have been a favourite with the lady of Sir Thomas More. Skelton also uses it—

“Tully valy, strawe, let be, I say !

Gup, Cristian Clowte, gup, Jak of the vale !

With Manerly Margery Mylk and Ale.”

Skelton’s Works, ii., 104.

Some have derived the term from an old French hunting cry. It is not used in the present Cornish dialect, but may be found a few times in a piece written in the old Cornish language, called “The Creation of the World,” a mystery, or play, in the style of those of Coventry and Chester. This piece, however, was written about the year 1611 by one William Jordan of Helstone, and the term therefore may have been introduced by him ; and it does not appear in the old compositions in the

Cornish tongue: the expression occurs as a sort of ejaculation of impatience.

“*Tely valy, bram an gath.*”

which is modestly translated—

“Tittle tattle, the wind of a cat.”

UPRISING.—“*Cleremont.* God keep my wife and all my
issue female

From such uprisings !”

The Noble Gentleman, B. and F., i., 1.

This term is still used for the churching of women.

WILLIAM SANDYS.

Devonshire Street, 19th December, 1846.

ART. VI.—*Notes on Passages in Shakespeare.*

The following brief remarks on passages in Shakespeare's plays may present a few new facts of some interest to the student. The references are made to Mr. Collier's edition, 8vo., 1842-44.

J. O. HALLIWELL.

Brixton Hill, 10th February, 1847.

TEMPEST. Act I. Sc. 2. (i., 23.)

“——— But, as 'tis,

We cannot miss him.”

We cannot miss him; i.e., we cannot do without him, a phrase, according to Malone, current in the midland counties. Mr. Collier says, “no similar use of it has been pointed out in other writers.” Palsgrave, however, gives a very similar idiom in his *Table of Verbes*, f. 180—“I can nat want my gloves, *je ne me puis passer sans mes gans*.” So also Cotgrave, in v. *Passer*, “*De cela je ne puis passer*, I can by no meanes want it, I cannot bee without it.” It ought to be added that I have not met with a confirmation of Malone's assertion.

“And he is one *that cannot wanted be*,

But still God keepe him farre enough from me.”

Taylor's Workes, 1630, part ii., p. 134.

“Allas ! why wantyd he hys wede?”

Syr Tryamoure, MS. Cantab.

“In like sort they *want* venemous beasts, cheefelie such as doo delight in hotter soile, and all kinds of ouglie creatures.”—*Harrison's Description of Britaine*, p. 42.

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR. Act I. Sc. 3. (i., 188.)

“What says my bully-rook?”

It has been a question with the critics whether we should write *bully-rook* or *bully-rock*. Mr. Hunter introduces a passage in which the latter form occurs, but both are correct. The word is by no means common, and the commentators have not produced a single instance in their notes to the Variorum Edition. I now add a second to Mr. Hunter's, for the sake of exhibiting both authorities.

“In some places the organs speak it a musick room, at others a pair of tables and draught board, a smal gaming house; on a sudden it turns Exchange, or a warehouse for all sorts of commodities, where fools are drawn in by inch of candle, as we betray and catch larks with a glass. The *bully-rook* makes it his bubbling pond, where he angles for fops, singles out his man, insinuates an acquaintance, offers the wine, and at next tavern sets upon him with high fullams, and plucks him.”—*The Character of a Coffee-House, with the Symptoms of Town-Wit*, 1673, p. 6.

“The *bully-rook*, with mangy fist and pox,

Justles some out, and then takes up the box.”

The Compleat Gamester, 8vo., Lond., 1721.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL. Act I., Sc. 1. (iii., 220.)

“For I the ballad will repeat,
Which men full true shall find;
Your marriage comes by destiny,
Your cuckoo sings by kind.”

The latter part of this stanza was a proverb long before Shakespeare wrote. Compare the following extract:—

“Content yourselfe as well as I,
Let reason rule your minde;

As cuckolds come by destiny,
So cuckowes sing by kinde."

Granges Garden, 4to., 1577.

TWELFTH-NIGHT. Act V. Sc. 1. (iii., 408.)

"Clo. Marry, sir, *lullaby* to your bounty, till I come again."

Lullaby is sufficiently unusual as a verb to justify an example.

"Yet by accident the unmannag'd appetite desiring more than reason, it doth dul the quicker spirits, stop the pores of the brain with too many vapors and grosse fumes, makes the head totter, *lullabees* the sences, yea, intoxicates the very soule with a pleasing poyson."—*The Optick Glasse of Humors*, 12mo. Lond., 1639, p. 19.

I. HENRY IV. Act I. Sc. 2. (iv., 230.)

"And is not a buff jerkin a most sweet robe of *durance*?"

The Prince here makes a pun, as is apparent from Falstaff's answer. *Durance* was some kind of strong and durable stuff, as appears pretty clearly from the passages produced by Steevens; but the following entry puts the matter beyond all doubt:—

		£	s.	d.
"Durance, or Duretty.	} with thred, the yard	.	.	00 06 08
		.	.	00 10 00

Book of Rates, ed. 1675, p. 35.

Compare Webster's Works, iii., 63, "Where didst buy this buff? Let me not live, but I'll give thee a good suit of *durance*."

I. HENRY IV. Act II. Sc. 8. (iv., 248.)

“As dank here as a dog.”

Mr. Collier here mentions a conjecture that *dog* is a misprint for *dock*, though of course he does not insert it in the text, no alteration being requisite. Marlowe has well ridiculed the prevalent fancy of similar comparisons—

“Thou say’st thou art as weary as a dog,
As angry, sick, and hungry as a dog,
As dull and melancholy as a dog,
As lazy, sleepy, and as idle as a dog;
But why dost thou compare thee to a dog
In that for which all men despise a dog?”

Marlowe’s Works, ed. 1826, iii., 448.

I. HENRY IV. Act V. Sc. 1. (iv., 318.)

“And, being fed by us, you us’d us so
As that ungentle *gull*, the cuckoo’s bird,
Useth the sparrow.”

Here Mr. Collier has no note, (probably thinking none required) but Mr. Knight actually reverses the ordinary meaning of the term *gull*, to make sense of the passage, and says it may mean the *guller*, i.e., the one who gulls, or have a special meaning referring to the *voracity* of the “cuckoo’s bird.” Either explanation is clearly most forced and improbable. A reference to Mr. Wilbraham’s *Cheshire Glossary*, p. 44, seems to set the question, if question there be, at rest. He does not allude to the present passage, but he says that the term *gull* is applied by natives of that country to “all nestling birds in quite an unfledged state.” This appears to be by far the most natural method of interpreting the passage.

HENRY V. Act II. Sc. I. (iv., 486.)

“His heart is *fracted*, and corroborate.

This Latinism occurs again in Shakespeare, “Timon,” act ii., sc. 1, but is not common even in contemporary writers. Nares produces no example in any other author. Latinisms are abundant in the following extract:—

“Sir, retire ye, for it hath thus succeeded: the carnifex, or executor, riding on an ill curtal, hath titubated or stumbled, and is now cripplied, with broken or *fracted* tibiards, and sending you tidings of success, saith yourself must be his deputy.”—*Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon*, p. 39.

II. HENRY VI. Act III. Sc. 1. (v., 163.)

“Say, that he thrive, as ’tis *great like* he will,
Why, then, from Ireland come I with my strength,
And reap the harvest which that rascal sow’d.”

Great like, i.e., very probable. This phrase is still current in the North of England.

HENRY VIII. Act I. Sc. 1. (v., 502.)

“All *cliquant*, all in gold, like heathen gods.”

As instances of *cliquant* are not common, I may add the following from Florio, which is more conclusive as to the meaning of the word than any yet produced.

“*Aginina*, a kind of networke, worne over tinsell or cloth of gold, to make it shew *clinkant*.”—*Florio’s New World of Words*, fol., Lond., 1611, p. 15, col. 2. In his first edition of

1598 he had printed the last words "to make it shew *the better*."

MACBETH. Act I. Sc. 3. (vii., 103.)

"*Aroint* thee, witch! the rump-fed ronyon cries."

No one, as far as I know, has discovered an early example of the word *aroint* in any other author. Mr. Hunter, however, asserts that "such are to be found, though they are rare;" but he only supplies one, and that from a History of Perkin Warbeck, quoted, with a very curious title, in the "Monthly Mirror" for October, 1810. See "New Illustrations," vol. ii., p. 166.

Mr. Hunter confesses he never saw this History. Has any body else? It is scarcely worth while to transcribe the title and extract given by Mr. Hunter, but it is advisable to caution any one against receiving it as an evidence without farther inquiry. I cannot help thinking it bears the appearance of a forgery. It would really be satisfactory to find an example of *aroint* of unquestionable authority, for till then a doubt may perhaps exist with some, as to whether a corruption may not have crept into the text.

MACBETH. Act V. Sc. 6. (vii., 181.)

"Upon the next tree shalt thou hang alive,
Till famine *cling* thee."

Mr. Collier is certainly right in explaining *cling* to shrink, the meaning given by Kennett in MS. Lansd., 1033. It is from A. S. *clingan*. Kennett has also "*clung*, clinged or shrunk up;" and in Cooper's edition of Eliote's Dictionarie, 1559, is the following entry — "*Coriago*, the sicknesse of cattall whan they are *clounge*, that their skynnes dooe cleve fast to their bodies, hyde bounde." The commentators have

confused two words in their notes on the passage. It should, however, be observed that in the Craven Glossary, i., 79, *clung* is explained "hungry or empty, emaciated," which perhaps agrees still better with the context in the passage under consideration. On the whole, I should explain *cling* in this place "to wither," no single word better expressing the intended force of the threat.

"Theo nessche clay hit makith *clyng*."

Kyng Alisaunder, 915.

"My bonys were stronge, and myghtyly made ;

But now thei *clynge*, and waxe all drye."

Seven Penetential Psalms, ed. Black, p. 29.

ART. VII. — *The Performance of Dramas by Parish Clerks and Players in Churches.*

In the course of my examinations of the registers and token-books preserved at St. Saviour's, Southwark, for the purpose of the volume of "Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare," I met with some valuable documents, which had belonged to the church of St. Margaret, before it was pulled down, and the parish united with that of St. Mary Overy. They extend from 1444 to 1534, and are among the most ancient parish records in existence: they will be especially interesting to the Shakespeare Society, in connexion with our early drama and stage, since they afford distinct evidence that plays were periodically represented in the church itself by persons who were regularly paid for their performances.¹

By way of fixing the locality, it may be mentioned that the church of St. Margaret stood on the "hill" in Southwark which is still called by her name. In Stow's time, part of the edifice

¹ Since this paper was written, I have been favoured with the following note by Sir H. Ellis, communicating a very remarkable entry on the subject, contained in one of the MSS. in the British Museum:

"79, Great Russell Street,

"Dec. 13, 1846.

"My dear Sir—In perusing one of the small volumes of Excerpts from the Registers of Lincoln, preserved in the Harleian Library, I fell upon a passage which brought to my remembrance the church expences of St. Margaret, Southwark, which you spoke of at the last Council of the Shakespeare Society.

"It appears from one of the Dean and Chapter's Registers (notat. E E. f. 18) that on June 7th, 1483, the Citizens of Lincoln had leave to perform a Play in the Nave of the Cathedral, as had been their custom upon the Assumption of the Virgin Mary: 'Ludum, sive Serimonium, de

was still standing, and was used as "a court, wherein the assizes and sessions be kept; and a Court of Admiraltie is also there kept: one other part of the same church is now a prison, called the Compter in Southwarke."¹ The demolition of the church, on the union of the parishes, was not therefore total: and it appears, by one of the papers still extant, that as late as 1534, a piece of ground belonging to what had been called "the Lord Ferrer's place" was added to the churchyard, with the intention of avoiding the necessity for pulling down the church by reason of the crowded state of the burial-place.

Without farther preface, I will proceed to quote from these accounts, commencing as early as 9th December, 23 Henry VI., such particulars as appear interesting with reference to the performance of plays (no doubt of a scriptural or moral character) in the church of St. Margaret, accompanying the extracts with such explanatory remarks as seem to be called for, or necessary.

We find in the earlier entries of receipts and payments that money was "gathered in the church" on particular days, including the saints' days of St. Margaret and St. Lucy, July 20th and December 13th; and farther on we meet with an explanation why such sums were collected: the account is headed—

"Theis be the percell of Goodis bought and enprocured be the chyrche Wardens afore wryten in theyre tyme: the yere of Kyng Harry the vj^t the xxijth."

Assumptione, sive Coronatione beatæ Mariæ—prout consuetum fuerat in Navi dictæ Ecclesiæ." Harl. MS. 6954, p. 152.

"It is not impossible but that you may yourself have seen this passage before. At all events, I send it to you.

"Yours, my dear sir,

"Most truly,

"HENRY ELLIS."

¹ Survey of London, p. 334, edit. 1599. Edit. by Thoms, p. 153.

and it includes this item :—

“ Also peid for a play vpon seynt Lucy day,
and for a play vpon seynt Margrete day... xiijs iiij^d. ”

The memorandum is repeated in the same words in the next year, but in 26 Henry VI. it is stated that only one play was acted in the course of the year, and the item is—

“ Also peid for a pley vpon seynt Margrete
day vij^s. ”

The avoiding of the additional expenditure upon St. Lucy's day may have been occasioned by the fact, that in this year the church had been furnished with “a peyre of newe Organes,” which cost £6 6s. 8d., while 13s. 4d. was disbursed “for a pleyer to pley vpon the same Organes, hyred in Chepe,” while an additional 12s. was given to a person named Mighell, also for “pleying vpon the Organes.” The particular dates of these payments are not given. It merits observation that the single organ-player, who had been hired in Cheapside, cost as much as was paid to all the actors who had represented the two plays in 1444. In 27th Henry VI., there was no dramatic performance, possibly because the church was undergoing considerable repairs. Nevertheless, John Fychette, the organ-player, was allowed a salary of 40s. in 1447 and 1448.

This salary seems to have been reduced in 28 Henry VI., for we then read—“Also peyd to the organ pleyer for an hole yere, xxvj^s viij^d ;” and on 13th December a play was performed : the singularity of this memorandum is, that we are told that it was represented by the “clerks,” meaning, of course, the association of Parish Clerks. Stow speaks of the performances of the Parish Clerks at Skinner's Well as early as 1391,¹ nearly sixty years before the period to which we are

¹ The following very curious particulars relating to this very performance are derived from Mr. F. Devon's valuable work, “Issues of the

now adverting. The entry in the accounts of St. Margaret, Southwark, 28th Henry VI., is in these terms:—

“Item, peyd vpon seynt Lucy day to the
Clerkes for a play vj^s viij^d.”

The same entry is repeated in the next year, and on both occasions the performances were restricted to St. Lucy's day; but in 29th Henry VI. we meet with a new charge, thus expressed:—

“Also peyd for Wyne to the Clerkes vj^d.”

and an item for “Holme and Ivy, and for grene candell, xv^d.” immediately follows the memorandum of the cost of the play. Whether the sum of viij^d “peyd to the Clerkes on Gangmonday” (the day when the bounds of the parish were beaten) had any connexion with their dramatic employment may be doubted.

Among the items in the receipts, besides the sums gathered in the church on St. Margaret's and St. Lucy's days, we meet with several others, in 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, and 34th Henry VI., which seem to require notice. Following the entry of 8s. 1d., collected on St. Margaret's day, we read as follows:—

“Also receuyd in dawnsing mony of the
Maydens iij^s viij^d.”

Exchequer, &c., from Henry III. to Henry VI.” 8vo. 1837. p. 244. It is from the Issue Roll of Easter, 14 Richard II.

“11th July. To the clerks of the parish churches, and to divers other clerks in the city of London. In money paid to them in discharge of £10, which the Lord the King commanded to be paid them as his gift, on account of the play of *The Passion of our Lord and the Creation of the World*, by them performed at Skynnerwell, after the feast of Saint Bartholomew last past. By writ of privy seal, amongst the mandates of this term 10^l.”

See also “Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage,” i., 18.

which I am not able to explain, unless the "dancing maidens" were in some way incidental to the play. The gatherings in the church also at this date became much more frequent, including All Saints and various others in the calendar, besides the four usual feasts of the year. If "Surcoat" might be taken in the sense of *Tabard*, the documents before us would show that Chaucer's famous inn was the property of the church of Saint Margaret: among the receipts are these:

"Also receuyd of William Fox for rent... xx^d
Also receuyd of the Wyfe at the Syrcote iijs iiij^d."

If the 3s. 4d. were not paid for rent, our conjecture as to the ownership of the Surcoat may not be borne out. Among the gatherings, already alluded to, we meet with the following:—

"Also gaderyed on Hocke Tewisday v^s."

This was no doubt for the repairs of the church. "Hock-tide" (Mr. Halliwell informs us) "was an annual festival, which began the fifteenth day after Easter. Money was formerly collected at this anniversary for the repairs of the church,"¹ &c. In this instance, it could have nothing to do with the performance of the Hock-Tuesday play, described by Langham in his "Letter from Kenilworth," 1575.

Returning to the payments, it appears that the day for the representation of the play was again changed to the feast of the saint to whom the church was dedicated in 1451. In the

¹ Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, p. 453. In a subsequent part of the same accounts, and applicable to the year 1458, we read the following memoranda, which show that money was collected at Hock-tide both by men and women:

"Item, receyuid in Hoke mony, gaderyd by the men v^s
Item, receyued in Hoke mony by the women xiiij^s."

No wonder the women were employed, seeing that their applications for contributions were so much more successful.

account headed “Anno Henrici Sexti xxx^o,” it forms the first item.

“Fyrste, peyd to the Pleyrs vpon Seynt
Margretes day vij^s.”

which is the earliest mention of “players” by profession in these documents: possibly they were only the Parish Clerks under another designation; but, if so, the fact that at this date they were called indifferently “players,” or “clerks,” deserves observation. It seems more likely that they were not the Parish Clerks, because a new charge is also made for the hire of garments, as if the players employed in 1451 were not furnished with apparel for the purpose: it is in these words:—

“Also peyd for hyryng of Germentes xiiij^d.”

which immediately succeeds an item of xvj^d paid “to the Mynstrell for the procescion,” which is the first we hear of such a musician in these accounts. The payment to the “Organ pleyer” was xxxiii^s iiij^d, most likely for his services during the whole year.

No play was performed in the next year, but there is a charge of 8^d for “flags and garlands,” which were carried in procession on Corpus Christi day. The play upon St. Margaret’s day was revived in 32nd Henry VI., but we are not told who acted it, and the same remark will apply to the three next years. At this time, St. Lucy’s day seems to have been neglected, excepting as far as the gatherings in the church were concerned. In 1456, we find that occasional professional singers were hired, and they seem to have supplied the absence of players: thus we have—

“Payed for a Synger in Crystmas xxj^d”

Payed for brede and wyne for the syngers
on Palmesonday ix^d

Peyd to Syngers vpon Seynt Margretes
day ij^s.”

This last was the day on which, as has been seen, it had been the custom to have a play performed, and in the next year we meet with precisely the same memorandum. St. Lucy's day, 1456, seems to have been celebrated by the performance of children under a person of the name of Harvey, but whether it consisted of singing or acting we are not informed. The entry runs thus:—

“Item, paid to Harvy for his Chyldren, vpon
Seynt Lucy day xx^d.”

These were, possibly, theatrical children, educated for the performances of dramas, similar to those, about seventy years afterwards, under the management and instruction of John Heywood.¹ If so, it is a much earlier instance of the kind than any yet upon record. In 1458, a new mode of celebrating the day of the holy patroness of the church was employed, at least we do not hear of it before, viz:—

“Item, gaderyd in the strete for woode to seynt
Margretis fyre..... ij^s.”

but in the next year we again meet with a notice of the performance of a play in her honour:—

“Item, payd vpon Seynt Margretes day for a
play vij^s”

and singers were employed and a bonfire lighted on the same occasion, as we learn from the ensuing memorandum:—

“Item, payd for wode to the fyre, and to the
Syngers iiij^s.”

¹ They are thus mentioned, among other places, in the “Privy Purse Expences of the Princess Mary,” under date 1537-8:—

“Item, giuen to Heywood playeng an enterlude
with his Children bfore my Ladys grace vj^s viij^d.”

Princess Mary's Household-book, edited by
Sir F. Madden, 8vo., 1831, p. 62.

After the accession of Edward IV., we have no farther tidings of the representation of dramas in the church of St. Margaret; the words “play” and “players” are never again used in the extant accounts, but minstrels and singers are not unfrequently mentioned, and were no doubt employed instead: thus, under date 5th Edward IV., the following items occur—

“Fyrste, payd vpon seynt Margretes day to the Mynstrell	xvj ^d
Item, paid to Syngers atte same tyme ...	ij ^s
Item, paid for their dyner the same tyme	ij ^s
Item, paid for Ale to the Syngers.....	j ^d .”

Again, in the next year:—

“Firste, paid for Syngers at St. Mar- grettes day	xvj ^d
Item, paid Ale the same tyme	j ^d .”

In the year following, St. Margaret’s day is called “the dedication day,” but greater economy was observed, for, although the singers were allowed wine, for which fourpence was paid, they received only ninepence for their services, and the minstrel had only fourpence. This is the last we hear of any of them.

The documents from which these curious and novel particulars are extracted contain much valuable information of a different kind, relating to the history of the church of St. Margaret, its furniture, plate, property, and possessions, and its connexion with the borough of Southwark; but, as these, of course, do not come within the objects of the Shakespeare Society, although interesting matters of general antiquity, I refrain from quoting them.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Kensington, 10th October, 1846.

ART. VIII.—*Remarks on some discrepancies in the Character of Jack Cade, Henry VI., Part II.*

—Although the reader cannot fail to agree with Mr. Knight in his remarks on the accuracy with which the historical details of Cade's insurrection, as given by Hall and Holinshed, have been followed in the play of Henry VI., Part II., yet this very circumstance seems to render more remarkable the fact, that many of the speeches put into the mouths of Cade and his followers may be found almost verbatim in the Chronicle of St. Alban's, as quoted by Stow in his account of Wat Tyler's and Jack Straw's rebellion. These appear to me so numerous as to be worth directing the attention of the student of Shakespeare to them, in the belief that the subject has never before been brought forward by the commentators.

In the first instance, act iv., scene 2, Cade and his followers are represented as entertaining an inveterate hatred against the higher orders, the learned, and more especially the lawyers, thus :

“It was never merry world in England since gentlemen came up.”

“The nobility think scorn to go in leathern aprons.”

“Labour in thy vocation, which is as much as to say, let the magistrates be labouring men, therefore should we be magistrates.”

“The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers.”

Of Wat Tyler's followers, the Chronicle says—“They began to show some such desperate acts as they had rashly considered in their minds, and took in hand to behead *all men of law*, as well apprentices as utter barristers and old justices, with all the jurors of the country whom they might get into their

hands. They spared none whom they thought to be *learned*, especially if they found any to have a *pen and ink-horn* about him, they *all with one voice crying*, “*Hale him out, cut off his head.*” The latter part of this sentence must bring the Clerk of Chatham to the mind of the reader.

“*Cade.* What is thy name?”

“*Clerk.* Emmanuel.¹”

“*Dick.* They use to write it on the top of letters: it shall go hard with thee.

“*Cade.* Let me alone.—Dost thou use to write thy name, or hast thou a mark to thyself, like an honest, plain-dealing man?”

“*Clerk.* I thank God I have been so well brought up that I can write my name.

“*All.* He hath confessed—*away with him!* he’s a villain and a traitor!”

“*Cade.* Away with him, I say! hang him with his *pen and ink-horn* about his neck.”

In another part of this scene Stafford says to Cade—

“Villain! thy father was a plasterer;

And thou thyself a shearman, art thou not?”

And Cade replies—

“And Adam was a gardener.”

May not this speech of Cade’s be derived from the following source?—

“These commons had to their chaplain, or preacher, a wicked priest called Sir John Ball, who counselled them to destroy all

¹ The commentators appear to me to have taken unnecessary pains to explain this passage. Is it not merely a play upon the word *manual*, or *sign manual*, to this day *written at the top of king’s or queen’s letters*?

the nobility and clergy. That his doctrine might infect the more number of the people, at Blackheath, where were many thousands of the commons assembled, he began his sermon in this manner—

“ ‘ When Adam dolve and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman ? ’ ”

In act iv., scene 7, Cade says—

“ Now go some and pull down *the Savoy*, others to the *Inns of Court* ; down with them all.”

We find the following passage in the Chronicle—“ Going to *the Savoy*, the Duke of Lancaster’s house, to the which there was none in the realm to be compared for beauty and stateliness, they mought set fire on it and burn it. This talk pleasing the commons, they straight came thither, and setting fire on it round about, applied their travail to destroy that place. They defaced the beauty of Fleet Street ; from thence *they went to the Temple*, to destroy it, and *plucked down the houses*, took off the tiles of the other buildings left. Went to the church, *took out all the books and remembrances that were in hatches of the practicers of the law*, carried them into the high street, *and there burned them.*”

Again, in the same scene, Dick thus addresses Cade—

“ I have a suit unto your lordship That the *laws of England may come out of your mouth.*¹

“ *Cade.* I have thought upon it ; it shall be so. Away ! *burn all the records of the realm.* My mouth shall be the Parliament of England.”

In the Chronicle thus—“ It was said that he (Wat Tyler) had but the day before (his death) made his vaunt, putting his

¹ In the “Contention of the two Houses,” &c., Cade says, “There shall be no laws but such as come from my mouth.”

hand to his own lips, That before four days came to an end,
*all the laws of England should proceed from his mouth.*¹

Perhaps the grounds are too slight for the following theory, yet, as it is impossible not to be struck with some discrepancies in Cade's accusation of the Lord Treasurer Say, and Say's reply, there may be some excuse for inquiring whether this scene may not partly be derived from the account of the murder of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Cade's charges appear partly as if addressed to a promoter of learning: this character is far more consonant with our ideas of a churchman than a layman of those times, when literature was almost exclusively limited to the ecclesiastical body.

"*Cade.* Thou hast most traiterously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a *grammar school*. It will be proved to thy face that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb," &c. * * * * * *

After some strangely unconnected lines, Say thus addresses Cade:—

"*Large sums have I bestowed on learned clerks,*
 Because my book preferred me to the King,
 And seeing ignorance is the curse of God,
 Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to Heaven,
 Unless you be possessed with devilish spirits,
 You cannot but forbear to murder me."

His last words are the following:—

"Ah, countrymen! if when you make your prayers
 God should be so obdurate as yourselves,
 How would it fare with your departed souls?
 And therefore yet relent, and spare my life."

Simon of Sudbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor, murdered by Tyler, is spoken of as "an eloquent

¹ This resemblance is noticed by Tyrwhitt.

man, and wise beyond all the wise men of the realm." He was the son of Nicholas Tibald of Sudbury, doctor of both laws, was eighteen years bishop of London; in the which time he built a *goodly college* in the place where his father's house stood, and endowed it with *great possessions*, furnishing the same with *secular clerks* and other ministers. Immediately before his murder, he is said to have addressed the rebels in the following words:—

"What is it, dear brethren, you purpose to do? What is mine offence committed against you for which you will kill me? You were best to take heed that if I be killed, who am your pastor, there come not on you the indignation of the just Avenger, or at the least, for such a fact all England be not put under interdiction."

There is also perhaps some faint resemblance in the passages descriptive of Cade and his followers, in act iv., scene 2, to the riddles or libels of Jack Miller, John Trueman, Hob Carter, &c., executed at the same time as Jack Straw. Thus—

"Jack Cade the clothier means to dress the commonwealth, and turn it, and set a new nap upon it.

"There's Best's son, the tanner of Wingham—

"*Bevis*. He shall have the skins of our enemies to make dog's leather of.

"*Holland*. And Dick the butcher—

"*Bevis*. Then is sin struck down like an ox, and iniquity's throat cut like a calf.

"*Holland*. And Smith the weaver—

"*Bevis*. Ergo, their thread of life is spun."

The following is the libel of Jack Miller:—

"Jack Miller asketh help to turn his mill aright. He hath ground small, small. The King's Son of Heaven shall pay for all. Look thy mill go right with four sails, and the post stand in steadfastness, with right and might, with skill and

will; let might help right; and skill before will, then goeth our mill aright—and if might go before right, and will before skill, then is our mill misdight.”

It will doubtless be admitted that there is ground for concluding, that there has been some misarrangement in this part of the play, from the fact that Cade is introduced first to the reader as a daring, hardy soldier—vide act iii., scene 2; next as a “clothier;” as “valiant because beggary is valiant;” as having been “whipped three market days together;” and “often burnt in the hand for stealing sheep;” then as “a shearman;” and again, in the last scene with Iden, he re-assumes the character of the fearless soldier. But it is easier to point out these discrepancies than to account for them; nor do I attempt a solution: it is, however, somewhat remarkable that the pedigree given by York in this very play (act ii., scene 2) occurs in terms nearly similar, some lines being precisely so, in “Sir John Oldcastle,”¹ when the Earl of Cambridge asserts his right to the throne. Is it not therefore possible that the passages quoted above may also have served a twofold part, and have belonged to some play of Richard the Second which is now lost? Mr. Collier has brought to light the circumstance of a play of Richard the Second, in which the character of Jack Straw was introduced, having been performed at the Globe Theatre in the year 1611. Whether this may have contained these passages can only be matter of conjecture; and perhaps the publication of the “Contention of the two Houses,” &c., (in which the greater number of these lines occur) having taken place in 1593, may be regarded as evidence to the contrary; but should any one versed in Shakespearian lore be disposed to throw light on the subject, it would gratify the writer of this paper.

G. M. ZORNLIN.

Sir John Oldcastle was entered at Stationers' Hall in the year 1600.

ART. IX. — *Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" illustrated by his contemporary, Thomas Heywood.*

The edition of Heywood's "Fair Maid of the Exchange," issued by the Shakespeare Society, proves how the work of an old fellow-dramatist sometimes illustrates the text of our greatest stage-poet, not merely generally but particularly. I refer to that part of the excellent comedy, where Bowdler contemplates the courtship of his mistress by quoting to her passages from "Venus and Adonis;" and as the portion of the scene which relates to "Venus and Adonis" is short, it will be more intelligible if I extract it.

"*Crip.* But hear you, sir! reading so much as you have done,
Do you not remember one pretty phrase,
To scale the walls of a fair wench's love?

"*Bow.* I never read anything but "Venus and Adonis."

"*Crip.* Why, that's the very quintessence of love.
If you remember but a verse or two,
I'll pawn my head, goods, lands, and all, 'twill do.

"*Bow.* Why, then, have at her!
'Fondling, I say, since I have hemm'd thee here,
Within the circle of this ivory pale,
I'll be a park—'

"*Moll.* Hands off, fond sir!

"*Bow.* ——' and thou shalt be my deer.
Feed thou on me, and I will feed on thee;
And love shall feed us both.'

"*Moll.* Feed you on woodcocks; I can fast awhile.

"*Bow.* 'Vouchsafe, thou wonder, to alight thy steed.'

"*Crip.* Take heed; she's not on horseback.

"*Bow.* Why, then, she is alighted.

'Come, sit thee down, where never serpent hisses;
And, being set, I'll smother thee with kisses.'"

Mr. Collier, in his edition of Shakespeare, was the first to point out this early proof of the popularity of "Venus and Adonis," a circumstance which Mr. Field, the editor of the "Fair Maid of the Exchange," does not advert to, although he adopts both the fact and the observation. Moreover, Mr. Field puts in quotation two lines, as from "Venus and Adonis," which are not found in any copy of that poem, remarking that "all these quotations are from Shakespeare's exquisite young man's poem:" one of them certainly is not, viz.—

"Feed thou on me, and I will feed on thee;
And Love shall feed us both."

I take it, that this was an addition by Bowdler, in his opinion in the spirit of the original he had just before quoted. The lines stand thus in "Venus and Adonis"—

"Fondling, she saith, since I have hemm'd thee here,
Within the circuit of this ivory pale,
I'll be a park, and thou shalt be my deer;
Feed where thou wilt, on mountain or in dale."

Bowdler substituted his "Feed thou on me," &c., for—

"Feed where thou wilt, on mountain or in dale,"

and he cannot be congratulated on the happiness of his invention: the notion of Venus and Adonis feeding on each other does not seem very Shakespearian, but it is a matter of little consequence; only Mr. Field, by his marks of quotation, ought not to have attributed the passage to our immortal poet: the rest, it is true, is from "Venus and Adonis," although there is no indication to that effect in the old copies, beyond the fact that Bowdler says he had never read anything but "Venus and Adonis," and subsequently breaks out with lines which must have been recognised by most of the audience as those of Shakespeare.

But I want to show how such a scene as that above extracted

particularly illustrates the text of our great dramatist; and it may also lead to the conclusion that "The Fair Maid of the Exchange" was written after the appearance of the impressions of "Venus and Adonis" in 1593 and 1594, and before that of 1596 came out. Mr. Field says nothing respecting the period when the comedy was composed; but we know from "Henslowe's Diary," p. 78, that Heywood was a writer for the stage in 1596, and perhaps earlier. "Heywood's book," there mentioned, may have been the very play ("book" and "play" were then often synonymous) under consideration; and it contains various indications, besides that I am about to notice, showing that it was produced some years before the death of Elizabeth.

The impressions of "Venus and Adonis," printed by Richard Field, in 4to., in the years 1593 and 1594, have the line quoted by Heywood—

"I'll be *a* park, and thou shalt be my deer;"

whereas, in the edition of 1596, published by John Harison, to whom Field had then disposed of his interest in the poem, it stands—

"I'll be *the* park, and thou shalt be my deer,"

a mistake that runs through all subsequent reprints, adopted by Malone in 1780, (though afterwards corrected by him) and transferred to many modern editions. Heywood, in "The Fair Maid of the Exchange," gives the correct text of the two earliest copies, confirming not only the opinion, which indeed can hardly be doubted, that Shakespeare wrote "I'll be *a* park," but showing that Heywood used one of the two oldest impressions. It seems not improbable that the edition of "Venus and Adonis," in 1596, had not made its appearance when he composed his play: if it had, it is still very clear that Heywood preferred the correct text, although it would have

answered his purpose just as well to have put "I'll be *the* park," &c., into the mouth of Bowdler.

Thus we see that apparent trifles, which might be passed over, (and indeed have been passed over by as acute and well-informed an editor as Mr. Field) when examined, are found to illustrate the true text of Shakespeare, and this is the main object of my communication.

HUGH ANDERSON.

Glasgow, February 10th, 1847.

PS. Mr. Field only mentions impressions of "The Fair Maid of the Exchange" in 1607 and 1637; but I have before me (a rarity, by the way, in Scotland, and perhaps in England) a copy of an intermediate edition in 1625, which establishes the popularity of the comedy: as the title-page differs somewhat from those copied by Mr. Field, I subjoin it, together with the imprint:—

"The Fayre Maide of the Exchange: together with the merry Humours, and pleasant passages of the Cripple of Fanchurch. Furnished with varietie of delectable Mirth.—London Printed by I. L., and are to be solde at the signe of the Greyhound in Paules Church-yard. 1625." 4to.

ART. X.—*On the earliest Quarto Editions of the Plays of Shakespeare.*

There is no edition of Shakespeare, nor any list of his plays, where the title-pages are given exactly as they stand, and in the form in which they are printed, in the original quartos. This is a defect I now propose to supply.

In the impression of the works of our great dramatist, not long since superintended by me through the press, I inserted before each drama the exact words and letters of the old title-pages, (information no where else supplied) but I was unable to give the precise manner in which the words were disposed and arranged, by which a notion, more or less accurate, may be formed of the degree of prominence given by the old printer, under the direction of the author or of the publisher, to particular parts of the title. Thus, in reference to “King Lear,” I could not show how unprecedently obvious the name of “M. William Shake-speare” was rendered at the top of the title-page, in order to attract attention to the fact that it was his play, and no other, which was then offered for sale. This, however, is a point of no little importance in connexion with the reputation and popularity of our great dramatist, only two or three years before the termination of his theatrical career. I mention this tragedy only by way of illustration; but, as the reader turns over the following pages, he will become aware of the value of the knowledge to be derived merely from the inspection of the title-pages of the old quartos. The groundwork on which I proceed is, that there is no matter, however minute, in relation to Shakespeare, that is not well worth ascertaining.

I have necessarily had all the early impressions of Shakespeare’s Works through my hands within the last few years. The Duke of Devonshire lent me all his copies, and the Earl

of Ellesmere added to them the editions handed down in his family: some of these had never been even seen by previous editors of Shakespeare, and I was certainly the first that ever had them all in his hands and at the same time. I had therefore peculiar means of obtaining the information I am about to furnish; and I transcribed every old title-page with the utmost accuracy, taking care in all cases to observe capitals or italics, and the proportions of the various types employed by the printers at the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, and in the beginning of that of James I.

It is to be remarked, that black-letter is not used in the printing of any one of Shakespeare's Works: it was not even resorted to to give variety or effect to any of his title-pages, although it was not very uncommon in his day still to employ it in plays which became especially popular. Many, if not most, of the works in prose and verse, addressed at that date to readers among the lower orders, were printed in black-letter: such was invariably the case with chap-books and ballads; and we might enumerate various dramas in the same predicament—three of them reprinted by the Shakespeare Society, viz., "Patient Grissell," and the two parts of "Edward the Fourth." Other plays by Dekker, Heywood, Munday, Chettle, Rowley, &c., were also issued in black-letter, because it was more attractive than Roman type to the popular eye.

It has generally been said, that there are twenty quarto editions of plays by Shakespeare printed anterior to the folio of 1623; but the fact is that, exclusive of "The Taming of the Shrew," the title-page of the quarto edition of which bears date in 1631, there are only seventeen quartos. Steevens, in 1766, to make up the number, added the two parts of "The troublesome Reign of King John," 1611, which nobody in modern times has imputed to Shakespeare, although "Written by W. Sh." was inserted fraudulently on the title-page by the old printer: he also reprinted among his "Twenty Quartos" the two parts of the "Contention between the two Houses of

Lancaster and York;" but he strangely omitted "Pericles," which had much more than an equal claim to the distinction. The undoubted plays of Shakespeare, which came from the press in quarto before 1623, were the following, and our list is made out according to the dates of publication:—

Romeo and Juliet	1597
Richard the Second	1597
Richard the Third	1597
Henry the Fourth, part 1	1598
Love's Labours Lost	1598
Much ado about Nothing	1600
Midsummer Night's Dream	1600
Merchant of Venice	1600
Henry the Fourth, part 2	1600
Henry the Fifth	1600
Titus Andronicus	1600
Merry Wives of Windsor	1602
Hamlet	1603
King Lear	1608
Troilus and Cressida	1609
Pericles	1609
Othello	1622.

Thus it will be seen at once how irregularly Shakespeare's dramas came from the press, viz., three in 1597, two in 1598, six in 1600, one in 1602, and another in 1603, one in 1608, two in 1609, and one in 1622. Why six separate productions were crowded into 1600, while in various years none at all appeared, is matter of curious and interesting speculation: five of these six were printed from good manuscripts, whether derived from the theatre or from any other source, while the sixth was indisputably surreptitious, and never could have been authorized by any body. I shall speak of them separately presently, and in the mean time I shall proceed to insert exact reprints of the

ancient title-pages, with such remarks and information regarding each as occur to me, taking them in the order above observed.

AN

EXCELLENT

conceited Tragedie

OF

Romeo and Iuliet.

As it hath been often (with great applause)
plaid publicuely, by the right Ho-
nourable the L. of *Hunsdon*
his Seruants.

L O N D O N

Printed by Iohn Danter.

1597.

At the top of the page is an arabesque ornament, and Danter's device above the name of the printer. This is the earliest, and, no doubt, spurious edition of "Romeo and Juliet," made up from notes taken at the theatre during performance, with assistance derived from portions of the tragedy as delivered out to some of the actors. The subsequent impression of 1599 was "newly corrected, augmented, and amended," and gives the play nearly as it was represented: nevertheless, the 4to. of 1597 contains important matter, of which we need only select one proof, where it is said of Romeo—

"His *agile* arm beats down their fatal points," instead of "*aged* arm," as it absurdly stands in the quartos of 1599, 1609, and even in the folio of 1623: the folio of 1632

alters the word "aged" to *able*; but "agile," of the 4to. of 1597, is the true reading. The title-page of the more complete impression of 1599 is this—

THE
M O S T E X -
cellent and lamentable
Tragedie, of Romeo
and *Iuliet*.

*Newly corrected, augmented, and
amended:*

As it hath bene sundry times publiquely acted, by the
right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine
his Seruants.

L O N D O N

Printed by Thomas Creede, for Cuthbert Burby, and are to
be sold at his shop neare the Exchange.
1599.

This edition must have been prepared from a good manuscript, notwithstanding the strange misprint of *aged* for "agile" above noticed. It was from the press of Creede instead of Danter, and it has also a respectable publisher's name (before wanting) in the imprint. It is remarkable, however, that the name of Shakespeare no where appears in any of the editions of "Romeo and Juliet" before it was included in the folio of 1623. The third quarto impression "for John Smethwick," in 1609, has no claim to peculiar notice: it was a mere reprint, with the addition of various errors.

It is not possible, perhaps, to ascertain which of the two historical plays, "Richard the Second" or "Richard the

Third," first came from the press: the title-page of the former is precisely in this form:—

T H E
Tragedie of King Ri-
chard the Se-
cond.

*As it hath beene publikely acted
by the right Honourable the
Lorde Chamberlaine his Ser-
uants.*

L O N D O N

Printed by Valentine Simmes for Androw Wise, and
are to be sold at his shop in Paules church yard at
the signe of the Angell.

1597.

Here we find a third printer, with his own device, and a new publisher, who in some way had possessed himself of the manuscript of "Richard the Second:" if he knew that it was by Shakespeare, the fact did not appear upon the title-page of Wise's first edition, though it is stated to be "By William Shake-speare" on the title-page of Wise's second edition in the following year. On the title-page of the 4to. of 1608 we first hear of "new additions of the Parliament Sceane;" but there is a copy of that impression in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, which makes no particular mention of them, although the "Parliament Scene" is duly inserted in the body of the performance: it also professes to have been acted by the theatrical servants of the Lord Chamberlain, as the King's Players were called before the accession of James I.; and this

fact may possibly show that the copy was printed from a manuscript prepared for the purpose before the demise of Elizabeth. We come next to—

THE TRAGEDY OF King Richard the third.

Containing,

His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence :
the pittiefull murther of his iunocent nephewes :
his tyrannicall vsurpation : with the whole course
of his detested life, and most deserued death.

As it hath beene lately Acted by the
Right honourable the Lord Chamber-
laine his seruants.

AT LONDON

Printed by Valentine Sims, for Andrew Wise,
dwelling in Paules Chuch-yard, at the
Signe of the Angell.

1597.

This earliest edition of “Richard the Third,” it will be observed, was by the same printer and for the same publisher as “Richard the Second,” and all the copies I have seen contain the two misprints of “iunocent” for *innocent*, and of “Chuch” for *Church*. Here again we find the name of the author, wanting in 1597, but furnished in 1598, when Thomas Creede printed a second impression for the same publisher as had put forth the first. Valentine Simmes printed for Andrew Wise the second edition of “Richard the Second” in 1598, but perhaps he was too busy to print also the new edition of “Richard the Third” in the same year, and hence the employment of Creede. It seems pretty clear that the edition of

“Richard the Third” in 1597 was brought out in haste; and besides the misprints we have noticed on the title-page, it contains others in the body of the work, which may have led Wise to resort to another printer in 1598 for “Richard the Third,” although he still employed Simmes to print for him the second impression of “Richard the Second” in 1598.

In 1598 we find Wise employing a third printer, Peter Short: in that year came out the earliest impression of the first part of “Henry the Fourth,” although on the title-page, which we subjoin, it does not appear that it was only the commencement of the subject.

THE
HISTORY OF
HENRIE THE
FOVRTH;

With the battell at Shrewsburie,
betweene the King and Lord

Henry Percy, surnamed
Henrie Hotspur of
the North.

With the humorous conceits of Sir
Iohn Falstalffe.

AT LONDON,
Printed by P. S. for *Andrew Wise*, dwelling
in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of
the Angell. 1598.

Peter Short was a well-known typographer of the day, and his initials only are in the imprint. Here again, strange as it

may seem, we meet with no indication of the author of the drama: "Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare" occurs for the first time, in connexion with "Henry the Fourth," Part I., on the title-page of the second impression for the same publisher in 1599: thus it appears that Andrew Wise had issued the earliest editions of three great historical dramas, "Richard the Second," "Richard the Third," and "Henry the Fourth," Part I., in 1597 and 1598, without knowing, or at all events without informing the buyers, that they were the works of Shakespeare.

Shakespeare's earliest comedy (earliest certainly as to the date when it was published) came from the press in the same year as his "Henry the Fourth," Part I., and upon the title-page his name is distinctly printed. It was, however, by another printer and for another stationer, as will be seen from what follows:—

A
P L E A S A N T
Conceited Comedie
CALLED,
Loues labors lost.

As it vvas presented before her Highnes
this last Christmas.

Newly corrected and augmented

By W. Shakespere.

Imprinted at London by W. W.
for Cutbert Burby.

1598.

The initials W. W., in the imprint, were most likely those of William Waterson; and Cuthbert Burby was the bookseller

who had published the second edition of "Romeo and Juliet" in 1599. As far as we know, "Love's Labours Lost" was not reprinted until it appeared in the folio of 1623; but as in 1598 it professes to have been "newly corrected and augmented," we should not be at all surprised if it had been printed before, although no copy of an earlier edition has ever been heard of. The impression of "Romeo and Juliet," published by Cuthbert Burby in 1599, professes also to have been "corrected, augmented, and amended;" and there is no doubt that it had been so, as compared with the edition of 1597.

We now come to the year 1600, when no fewer than six of Shakespeare's plays came from the presses of various printers. We shall speak of them in succession, beginning with "Much ado about Nothing," the original title-page of the only 4to. edition of which is in this form:—

Much adoe about Nothing.

As it hath been sundrie times publikely
acted by the right honourable, the Lord
Chamberlaine his seruants.

Written by William Shakespeare.

L O N D O N

Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise, and
William Aspley.

1600.

The initials V. S., in the imprint, are those of Valentine Simmes; and here we find Andrew Wise, the stationer, putting

the name of the author upon the title-page. In the instance of "Much ado about Nothing," he omitted the hyphen between *Shake* and *speare*, which had been inserted in Wise's second impressions of the three other dramas published by him: this is a very trifling circumstance, but, in connexion with the *vexata questio* of the spelling of our great dramatist's name, it may just deserve remark. Although Cuthbert Burby, in 1598, had spelt it Shakespere, Wise (or Simmes for him) continued to print it with all the letters—Shakespeare.

This observation, as far as it is of any consequence, applies to three of the other plays which came out in 1600, "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "The Merchant of Venice," and "The Second Part of Henry the Fourth." The title-page of the first of these is thus arranged:—

A
Midsommer nights
dreame.

As it hath beene sundry times pub-
*lickely acted, by the Right honoura-
ble, the Lord Chamberlaine his
seruants.*

Written by William Shakespeare.

¶ Imprinted at London, for *Thomas Fisher*, and are to be sould at his shoppe, at the Signe of the White Hart, in *Fleetestreete*. 1600.

The name of Thomas Fisher (whose device of a halcyon with a fish in its mouth occupies the centre of the page) is here

for the first time connected with the works of our great dramatist ; and, as stationers did not usually employ devices, we may presume, perhaps, that he was both the printer and publisher. The type is something like that of Creede, but Creede was in the habit of putting his name in the imprint of all books from his press. Fisher's edition was regularly entered at Stationers' Hall, which was not the case with an impression by James Roberts, which came out in the same year, the title-page of which I subjoin.

A
**Midsommer nights
 dreame.**

As it hath beene sundry times pub-
likely acted, by the Right Honoura-
 ble, the Lord Chamberlaine his
seruants.

VVritten by VVilliam Shakespeare.

Printed by Iames Roberts. 1600.

For aught that appears, Roberts was only a printer ; and whether his edition were or were not in some way authorized, it is quite certain that the editors of the folio of 1623 adopted his text, and inserted some of his blunders, while they seem never to have consulted the more accurate impression Fisher had put forth. Are we to presume that the edition by Roberts was that used in the theatre between 1600 and 1623 ? Fisher's edition did not make its appearance, at all events, until October,

1600, because in that month it was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company; but whether Roberts's edition were earlier in the year, we have no means of deciding, for no memorandum of it has been met with in the Registers.

"The Merchant of Venice" was brought out under very similar circumstances: there were two editions of it in the same year, and one of them was printed by Roberts, and had been registered by him at Stationers' Hall two years anterior to its publication, viz., on the 22nd July, 1598. The title-page is in this form, and it will be observed that it does not mention by what company it had been acted.

THE E X C E L L E N T

History of the Mer- *chant of Venice.*

With the extreme cruelty of *Shylocke*
the Iew towards the saide Merchant, in cut-
ting a iust pound of his flesh. And the obtaining
of *Portia*, by the choyse of
three caskets.

Written by W. SHAKESPEARE

Printed by *J. Roberts*, 1600.

When Roberts entered the play at Stationers' Hall, in 1598, a proviso was added, that it should not be printed by him "or any other whatsoever, without license first had from the right honourable the Lord Chamberlain," and perhaps the delay

between 1598 and 1600 was occasioned by an objection of the Lord Chamberlain, at the instance of his players. The title-page of Roberts's edition says nothing of the company, but such is not the case with the title-page of the other impression of the same year, which is this :

The most excellent
 Historie of the *Merchant*
of Venice.

With the extreame crueltie of *Shylocke* the Iewe
 towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound
 of his flesh: and the obtayning of *Portia*
 by the choyse of three
 chests.

*As it hath beene diuers times acted by the Lord
 Chamberlaine his Seruants.*

Written by William Shakespeare.

A T L O N D O N,

Printed by I. R. for Thomas Heyes
 and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the
 signe of the Greene Dragon.

1600.

This is the first and only time the name of Thomas Heyes occurs in any imprint of a play by Shakespeare. The initials I. R. are supposed to be those of James Roberts, the printer of the other edition of "The Merchant of Venice," but the types are different, and it has been conjectured that the

authority of the Lord Chamberlain for printing the play had been obtained between 1598, the year of Roberts's entry, and 1600, when it was entered by Heyes, or Haies, as the name stands in the Register. If Roberts were employed by Heyes to print one edition of 1600, it seems inexplicable how it happens that a separate impression, with the imprint "Printed by J. Roberts, 1600," should have made its appearance in the same year. This is one of the points that we have no information to enable us to clear up.

Wise and Aspley were the publishers of the first edition of "The Second Part of Henry the Fourth," in 1600, as they had been of "Much ado about Nothing," in the same year: they also employed the same printer, V[alentine] S[immes], as will be seen from what follows.

THE
Second part of Henrie
the fourth, continuing to his death
and coronation of Henrie
the fift.
With the humours of sir Iohn Fal-
staffe, and swaggering
Pistoll.

As it hath been sundrie times publikely
acted by the right honourable, the Lord
Chamberlaine his seruants.

Written by William Shakespeare.

L O N D O N

Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise, and
William Aspley.

1600.

It will be remembered that the first part of "Henry the Fourth" is not so called, but here we see the information, that this was the second part, made obvious at the top of the title-page. Wise alone was the publisher of the first part, and he seems to have enjoyed some extraordinary facilities in obtaining copies of popular dramas: we have already seen four by Shakespeare issued from his shop.

Of "Henry the Fifth" there never was anything like an authentic edition, until it appeared in the folio of 1623: yet it was printed at least three times previously in quarto; and the wonder seems to be that, considering the popularity of the "Chronicle History," as it was called, the public should have been satisfied for nearly a quarter of a century with such a meagre and mangled performance as it appears to be in the quartos of 1600, 1602, and 1608. The title-page of the earliest quarto is this:—

THE
C R O N I C L E
History of Henry the fift,

With his battell fought at *Agin Court* in
France. Together with *Auntient*
Pistoll.

*As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right honorable
the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.*

L O N D O N

Printed by *Thomas Creede*, for Tho. Millington,
and Iohn Busby. And are to be
sold at his house in Carter Lane, next
the Powle head. 1600.

"Henry the Fifth" appears to have been a play to which additions were made by the author subsequent to its original production on the stage; so that, had the quarto of 1600 been even authorized by the company, (which could not possibly have been the case) it would not have appeared there as it stands in the folio of 1623.

Of "Titus Adronicus," which also was published in 1600, (Malone and Steevens knew of no edition prior to that of 1611) there is little to be said, but that it was the speculation of a well-known stationer, although his name has not before occurred in connexion with Shakespeare. The title-page is this; and it will be remarked that it mentions various other companies, as the performers of the tragedy, besides the players of the Lord Chamberlain.

The most lamenta-
ble Romaine Tragedie of *Titus*
Andronicus.

As it hath sundry times beene playde by the
Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke, the
Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the
Lorde Chamberlaine theyr
Seruants.

A T L O N D O N

Printed by I. R. for Edward White
and are to bee solde at his shoppe, at the little
North doore of Paules, at the signe of
the Gun. 1600.

I. R. may have been, and most likely was, James Roberts, whose name as a printer has been mentioned several times

already. Edward White was also the publisher of the edition of "Titus and Adronicus" in 1611.

John Busby was a stationer, who had been partner with Millington in the publication of the surreptitious copy of "Henry the Fifth," 1600; and in 1601-2 he seems to have become possessed of an equally imperfect and mangled manuscript of "The Merry Wives of Windsor," which he assigned to Arthur Johnson. It was printed for him by T[homas] C[reede], came out in 4to., with the date of 1602, as may be what follows.

A

Most pleasaunt and excellent conceited Co- medie, of Syr *Iohn Falstaffe*, and the merrie Wiues of *Windsor*.

Entermixed with sundrie
variable and pleasing humors, of Syr *Hugh*
the Welch Knight, Iustice *Shallow*, and his
wise Cousin M. *Slender*.

With the swaggering vaine of Auncient
Pistoll, and Corporall *Nym*.

By *William Shakespeare*.

As it hath bene diuers times Acted by the right Honorable
my Lord Chamberlaines seruants. Both before her
Maiestie, and else-where.

L O N D O N

Printed by T. C. for Arthur Iohnson, and are to be sold at
his shop in Powles Church-yard, at the signe of the
Flower de Leuse and the Crowne.

1602.

The quarto of 1619, also published by Arthur Johnson, is merely a repetition of the quarto of 1602, with all its blunders and some additions.

The earliest quarto impression of "Hamlet" bears date in 1603, and that, like "Henry the Fifth" and "The Merry Wives of Windsor," was a fraudulent attempt to make the public believe that it was a copy of the tragedy then in a course of performance by the King's Players, as the Lord Chamberlain's theatrical servants were called after May, 1603: only a single copy of this impression has been preserved. The first leaf reads thus:—

THE
 Tragicall Historie of
 HAMLET
Prince of Denmarke.

By William Shake-speare.

As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where.

At London printed for N. L. and Iohn Trundell.

1603.

John Trundell, or Trundle, was a well-known publisher of ballads, chap-books, and ephemeral tracts, who did not think it necessary to mention the place where he carried on business. N. L. was Nicholas Ling, who was a printer, and whose device

precedes the imprint. How Trundell became owner of the surreptitious manuscript can only be conjectured: probably some needy person, who had made notes of the play at the theatre, offered it to him, and hence its publication in 1603; but in the next year came out a more perfect copy of the performance, obviously from a playhouse MS., and perhaps intended to supersede Trundell's most faulty impression. It will be observed, that in 1603 the hyphen was again introduced into the name of our great poet, but it was omitted in 1604, when something like an authorized edition of the tragedy was published, bearing the subsequent title:—

THE
 Tragicall Historie of
 H A M L E T,

Prince of Denmarke.

By William Shakespeare.

Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much
 againe as it was, according to the true and perfect
 Coppie.

A T. L O N D O N,

Printed by I. R. for N. L. and are to be sold at his
 shoppe vnder Saint Dunstons Church in
 Fleetstreet. 1604.

I. R. in the imprint may have been, as before, James Roberts, and the device of Nicholas Ling is inserted on the title-page. The words "enlarged to almost as much again as it was, according to the true and perfect copy," are evidently very important. James Roberts had entered at Stationers' Hall "The Reyenge of Hamlet," in July, 1602, and this was doubtless the tragedy, as published in 1604.

It deserves remark, although it has not hitherto received it, that according to "Henslowe's Diary," (as printed by the Shakespeare Society) p. 224, Henry Chettle received twenty shillings on 7th July, 1602, in part payment for a drama called "A Danish Tragedy," which in point of date was just anterior to the entry in the Stationers' books, by Roberts, of "The Revenge of Hamlet."

In the interval between 1604 and 1608 it is not known that anything by our great dramatist was printed, but in 1608 came out no fewer than three impressions of his "King Lear." They were all published by Nathaniel Butter, and, as they follow each other very accurately as regards the title-pages, it will not be necessary to insert more than one of them.

M. William Shak-speare :

HIS

True Chronicle Historie of the life and
death of King LEAR and his three
Daughters.

*With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne
and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his
sullen and assumed humor of
TOM of Bedlam :*

*As it was played before the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall vpon
S. Stephans night in Christmas Hollidayes.*

By his Maiesties seruants playing vsually at the Gloabe
on the Bancke-side.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Nathaniel Butter*, and are to be sold at his shop in *Pauls
Church-yard* at the signe of the Pide Bull neere

St. Austins Gate. 1608.

The only differences in the title-pages of the two other editions of 1608 are, that the name of the author (rendered so unusually obvious) is spelt William Shake-speare, and that the imprint is only "Printed for Nathaniel Butter. 1608." By whom the impressions were made we have no information, but, according to the books of the Stationers' Company, Busby was to have had some interest with Butter in the publication: they entered the play jointly on 26th November, 1607.

There remain three more quartos to be noticed, "Troilus and Cressida," "Pericles," and "Othello:" the two first were printed with the date of 1609; and "Troilus and Cressida" was issued in that year with two distinct title-pages, varying materially: the body of the play varies immaterially, being in fact the same impression, with one or two literal changes. We shall insert both title-pages, first giving that which seems to have been printed for the play before "the famous history" had been brought out at the Globe theatre.

THE
Famous Historie of
Troilus *and* Cresseid.

*Excellently expressing the beginning
of their loues, with the conceited wooing
of Pandarus Prince of Licia.*

Written by William Shakespeare.

L O N D O N

Imprinted by *G. Eld* for *R. Bonian* and *H. Walley*, and
are to be sold at the spred Eagle in Paules
Church-yard, ouer against the
great North doore.

1609.

Here we see that the drama is called a "famous history," but no information is supplied, or could be supplied, as to the acting of the play, because probably it had not then been performed, Bonian and Walley, the publishers, having obtained a manuscript before the play was brought upon the stage. Soon afterwards, "Troilus and Cressida" was represented at the Globe, and then the publishers seem to have caused a new title-page to be printed, containing a statement of that fact, and omitting an explanatory paragraph, as well as the preliminary epithet "famous," not then required in consequence of the popularity of the "history" with large audiences.

THE Historie of Troylus and Cresseida.

*As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties
seruants at the Globe.*

Written by William Shakespeare.

L O N D O N

Imprinted by *G. Eld* for *R. Bonian* and *H. Walley*, and
are to be sold at the spred Eagle in Paules
Church-yard, ouer against the
great North doore.

1609.

It was no longer necessary to inform the reader what was the subject of the story, "excellently expressing," &c., as in the former title-page, because, when this second title-page was

struck off, the nature of the play, in a course of daily performance at the Globe on the Bankside, was well known. G. Eld, R. Bonian, and H. Walley, are new names as regards the printing and publication of the plays of Shakespeare.

The same remark will apply to "the putter-forth" of "Pericles" in the same year—Henry Gosson; who was most likely related to Stephen Gosson, the early and resolute enemy of theatrical representations. Henry Gosson subsequently became more celebrated as a publisher of ballads than of plays; but he seems to have resolved, in the instance of "Pericles," to render the title-page as attractive and explanatory as possible.

T H E L A T E
And much admired Play,
Called
Pericles, Prince
of Tyre.

With the true relation of the whole Historie,
aduentures, and fortunes of the said Prince:

As also

The no lesse strange, and worthy accidents
in the Birth and Life, of his Daughter

M A R I A N A.

As it hath been diuers and sundry times acted by
his Maiesties Seruants, at the Globe on
the Banck-side.

By William Shakespeare.

Imprinted at London for *Henry Gosson*, and are
to be sold at the signe of the Sunne in
Pater-noster row, &c.

1609.

What is chiefly remarkable is the peculiar manner in which the name of Shakespeare is made obvious on the title-page, by printing it in very distinct type, and by separating the Christian from the surname by two ivy-leaves, which modern typography will not afford. There is little doubt that "Pericles" was produced early in 1608, and, in anticipation of printing it, Edward Blount entered it at Stationers' Hall on 20th May in that year. We know not how the right (if such it were) to publish it was transferred from Blount to Gosson; and Nathaniel Butter procured a novel to be printed, founded upon the play, a year before Gosson's edition came out.

The last of Shakespeare's dramas printed in 4to., before the publication of the folio of 1623, is "Othello:" in fact, it bears date in the same year as one existing copy of the folio, as may be seen hereunder:—

THE
Tragoedy of Othello,
The Moore of Venice.

*As it hath beene diuerse times acted at the
Globe, and at the Black-Friers, by
his Maiesties Seruants.*

Written by William Shakespeare.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *N. O.* for *Thomas Walkley*, and are to be sold at his
shop, at the Eagle and Child, in Brittans Bursse.

1622.

“Othello” being in existence in 1602, we might wonder that it did not sooner find its way to the press, did we not know that eighteen other dramas, nearly all equally popular, by some means escaped printing, until the publication of the folio of 1623. We may thus judge of the extent of our obligations to Shakespeare’s “pious fellows,” Heminge and Con-dell, without whose instrumentality we should probably have lost the larger, if not the better half of what was written by our great dramatist.

I am not aware that it is necessary to say more about the quarto editions of Shakespeare’s plays: I only hope that it will not be thought that I have said too much. The fact is, that nobody has before treated of the subject at all systematically; and, although the literal wording of the old title-pages is contained (and for the first time) in my edition of “Shakespeare’s Works,” 8 vols., 8vo., 1842-4, it was impossible there to give the form and appearance of the “fore-fronts” of the old copies. This has now been accomplished, as nearly as modern typography would allow. For a future volume of “The Shakespeare Society’s Papers,” I propose to send some account of the progressive and comparative value of the quartos during the last fifty or sixty years, with a statement of the depositories, public or private, where any of them are preserved. I shall append some new facts connected with the folio editions in 1623, 1632, 1664, and 1685, with the prices for which they have from time to time been sold, and the number of copies in the hands of collectors, or in our public libraries.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Kensington, 10th March, 1847.

ART. XI. — *Notes on Old Plays by Bale, Marston, and Shakespeare.*

In the hope that a few observations on our ancient dramatists, not particularly Shakespeare, may not be unacceptable, I beg leave to forward these remarks. Should they be thought worthy of admission among the Papers of the Shakespeare Society, I shall feel much gratified; and if it should be discovered that the first two are “conveyed” from the “European Magazine, I must, in self-defence, reply that I communicated them to that work in 1812 and 1813. Having found them lie in ignoble obscurity for upwards of thirty years, I wish to give them a chance of enviable notoriety by embalming them in the miscellaneous Papers of the Shakespeare Society.

Dodsley’s *Old Plays*, vol. i., p. 40, “God’s Promises.”—
“O perfyght keye of David, and hygh scepture of the kyn-
dred of Jacob, whych openest and no man speareth,¹ thu
speakest [r. spearest] and no man openeth.”

I allow that “to spere” is frequently used, especially by the Scots, in the sense of to *ask* or to *inquire* (See Jamieson’s *Dict.* and Chalmers’ *Gloss.* to Sir D. Lyndsay); but in the present passage the word comes from the old verb “to sperre,” i.e., to *shut*, or *fasten*. (See Tyrwhitt’s *Glos.* to Chaucer.) This is not only proved by the antithesis in the above extract, but from the Antiphona itself, which Bishop Bale quotes, viz.:
“O Clavis David, et sceptrum domus Israël: qui aperis, et nemo *claudit*: et claudis, et nemo aperit,” (Brev. Rom. Pars Hiem., p. 203) and from the passage in the Revelations, from

¹ “i.e., asketh, inquireth.” Quotations are adduced from Chaucer and Gawin Douglas to confirm the explanation. It is strange that Nares, under “To spere,” should bring forward *this* passage alone to show that it *here* means “To ask,” which it certainly does not.

whence part of the above Antiphona is taken—"He that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth: and *shutteth*, and no man *openeth*."—*Rev.*, iii., 7.

Marston and Webster's "The Malcontent," Dodsley's O. P., vol. iv., p. 15, Webster's Works by Dyce, vol. iv., p. 16, "The Induction."

"*Sinklow*. I durst lay four of mine ears the play is not so well acted as it hath been.

"*Henry Condell*. O! no, sir, nothing, *Ad Parmenonis suem*."

To this, "Puck," (G. Steevens) who cared not what literary forgery he committed, so he could but "beguile" another, subjoins the following note, falsifying the passage to make it suit his purpose: "Summum *suem* Parmenonem impertit Gnatho."—*Terent. Eunuch*. Mr. Dyce is too honest to let the falsification pass, but merely asks, "Did the author intend a misquotation here?"

"*Nihil ad Parmenonis suem*" is a proverb directed against those who, from prejudice or prepossession, pass a hasty judgment, without having any good grounds on which to found their decision. Phædrus, without mentioning the name of Parmeno, has turned the incident which gave rise to the proverb into a fable; "Fab., l. v., f. v.

The following extract from Plutarch, "in the very words of Creech," would have suited the annotator's purpose somewhat better than the fabricated quotation from Terence: "For upon what other account should men be moved to admire *Parmeno's sow* so much as to pass it into a proverb? Yet 'tis reported, that Parmeno being very famous for imitating the grunting of a pig, some endeavoured to rival and outdo him. And when the hearers, being prejudiced, cried out, 'Very well, indeed, but *nothing comparable to Parmeno's sow*,' one took a pig under his arm, and came upon the stage; and when, tho' they heard the very pig, they still continued, '*This is nothing comparable to Parmeno's sow*,' he threw his pig amongst them, to

shew that they judged according to opinion and not truth."—
Plutarch. *Sympos*, lib. v., prob. i.

"As You Like It," act ii., Jaques's song.—"Ducdame, ducdame, ducdame."

I do not attempt to explain this controverted passage, (*Turpe est difficiles habere nugas, Et stultus labor est ineptiarum!*) which I believe to be merely an unmeaning *burden* like "trolley lolly," "down-a-down," "skerry merry," and such stuff. But I would fain suggest, whether there be not some connexion (though I cannot distinctly trace it) between these words and that which I am going to adduce. In Stanyhurst's Dedication to the Lord Baron of Dunsanie, of his Translation of the First Fovre Bookes of Virgil's *Æneis*, there occurs, *sub finem*, this passage: "The readiest way therefore to flap these droanes from the sweete senting hiues of Poetrye, is for the learned to applie them selues wholly (if they bee delighted with that veine) to the true making of verses in suche wise as the Greekes and Latines, the fathers of knowledge, haue done; and to leaue to these doltishe coistrels their rude rythming and *balducketome* ballads."

I am confident that *balducketome*, in an opprobrious sense, q. d., *trashy*, *ribald*, occurs in Holinshed; but I have unfortunately mislaid my quotation and reference. Having in vain skimmed over one volume, in hope of retrieving the passage, "I give it up:" to take the other five in hand would not be *tanti*.

L. S.

April 26th, 1847.

ART. XII.—*Accounts of Performances and Revels at Court in the reign of Henry VIII.*

Concluding that any early details of court masques, disguisings, and revels, will fall within the objects of the Shakespeare Society, and be adapted for publication in its "Papers," in connection with the history of the stage, I send you a few memoranda made by me, some years ago, from the original documents, then in the Chapter House, Westminster, but now, I apprehend, removed from that depository. Whether Mr. Collier ever saw them, I know not; but perhaps I may presume a negative, because I find no notice of them in his "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage." He has mentioned and made extracts from other documents of the same kind, but not from these, and possibly their existence had not been ascertained when he collected the materials for his volumes.

The first relates to the very beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., about nine months after he came to the throne, and it appears to be a fair copy made out from the rough draft of Richard Gibson, who held the office of yeoman-tailor, and was immediately concerned in the preparation of all the dresses, both for the ladies and gentlemen who performed: it ends with these words, "Thus endeth all the besenes done by me, Rychard Gybson, the furst yeere of the Kynges Reyne."

It applies in part to the 18th January, 1509-10, when "in the Quenys chamber at Westminster" were exhibited some revels, as the account expresses it, "for a gladnes to the Quenys grace, there were xij parsons [not, of course, meaning clergymen, but *persons*] dysgysed, that is to weete, [wit] xj in mens apparell, and oon yn womans." The nature of the show

is nowhere even hinted at, but the expense must have been very considerable, as the dresses were composed of the most costly materials. The Queen was of course Katherine of Arragon. It is most likely that the King was himself a performer, but he is not specially mentioned.

Fresh revels were ordered by Henry VIII. on the 28th of February following; and here we are distinctly told by Gibson that "the dysguysyng was had and made by the advyse of the Earl of Essex;" but why, or on what occasion he advised it, we are left in the dark. The Earl of Essex at this date was Henry Bouchier, who had come to the title in 1483, and who died in 1539, when, as is very well known, the peerage became extinct, and it was conferred upon Cromwell. It is to be observed, that the father, Henry of Bouchier, appears to have been a great encourager of early dramatic performances, and he was one of the very first of our nobility who had a company of players in his pay and service.

On the 28th February the court preparations seem to have been on a much more extensive and expensive scale, for, instead of twelve, no fewer than thirty-four personages were engaged in the revels. Gibson thus gives the enumeration:—

"Sum of personagys in this Revell, of Lordys		
and gentylmen	xxij	
Of Ladys	vj	
Of Mynstrells.....	vj	
Summa totalis xxxiiij personagys."		

The names of none of the "lords and gentlemen" are supplied, but among the "ladies," Mrs. Knevett and Mrs. Margaret Bryan are particularized. The "Disguisyng" took place in the Parliament Chamber at Westminster, and upon this occasion it is quite clear that Henry VIII. was a principal performer, for cloth of gold is charged for doublets for the King's Grace, for the Earl of Essex, Sir Harry Stafforthe, Sir —

Knevett, the Earl of Suffolk, and Master Edward Knevett. This Earl of Suffolk was Edmund de la Pole, who, twelve years afterwards, was attainted, and lost his honours and his head. The six ladies, we are told in the account, had "kirtles of blue satin" and "garments of strange device," which strange device, we afterwards learn, was of "Moryans," or Moorish fashion, so that the six ladies of the court figured as so many female blackamoors.

It is singular that the Earl of Hastings (whose father, the Lord Chamberlain, had been beheaded in 1483) was provided with "a pair of shoes" for the occasion; and in another part of the document we find that other peers who danced were furnished with the same part of dress at the public expense. However, some spirit of economy was displayed, because "Harry Wentworth," who acted as temporary Master of the Revels, gave Gibson several old dresses "out of the King's store," which were to be altered and applied according to the best skill of the yeoman-tailor. The minstrels were clothed in "Jackets of Satin of Bregs," a material I do not understand, unless it mean satin of Bruges: we hear also of "tinsel of Bregs," which was used on the garments of Sir Edward Haward, "that bare the keyes before the mummers." In what way these keys were employed, or what they indicated, we can only guess, for the account affords us no sort of explanation. A number of the persons engaged had Turkish dresses.

A profusion of gold seems to have been employed, and Robert Amadas, the King's jeweller, furnished sheafs of arrows and "five hundred and ninety pieces in gold," perhaps cloth of gold, as well as forty-five "payers of roosys of gold enamelled," and a large quantity of "gold in bolyon."

The sum expended on these occasions is not given at the end of the document; but Mr. Collier informs us, (vol. i., p. 60) from papers he had seen, that the cost of revels at Court during the feast of Christmas, 1509-10, in gold plate, silks,

and apparell only, was nearly £600, not far short of as many thousands in money of the present day. At the end of the document we read, "Thus end the Revels of the fyrst yere;" but in addition Gibson was required, on the 17th of March, to provide a garment "of purpul velvet for hys Grace for the running at the ryng."

In Gibson's accounts of the next year we meet with a remarkable memorandum in no way connected with his peculiar duties: it is in these terms:—

"Ephepany, the nyght, the secound yere he (?) dd. [delivered] the Quynes Graces in her chambyr of a Pryns, whos sowll ys among the holy Innocents."

This of course refers to the birth of Henry, the eldest son of the King and Katherine of Arragon; but Stow tells us that the child was born, not on Epiphany at night, which of course was January 6th, 1510-11, but "on new-years day;" and he adds that the Prince lived until 23rd February following. Gibson's account, it should be mentioned, bears date on the 15th November, long after the death of the Prince. How he came to insert a notice of this historical event, so much out of place, is no where explained.

Disguisings were held this year on the 8th of November at Richmond; and on this occasion, as on the last, thirty-four "Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Ladies, and Minstrells," figured, and some of the male masqueraders wore "Almayne Dobletts," a species of dress derived of course from Germany. One of the items is for a bonnet for a lady: "whiche lady was the Prynces of Castell [Castille]." "Mastres Knevett" and "Mastres Margaret Bryan" were again in requisition among the female dancers.

On the 15th of November following, some kind of dramatic entertainment was performed at Court, and Gibson delivered to John English, "by the Kynges commandement, for to play befor the Kynges Grace, as by byll appereth, iiij ladyes gar-

ments of saten of Bregs of the fyrst sort." Thus we see that the play represented under the direction of John English, who had been one of the interlude players of Henry VII., and continued in the same capacity with his son, had four parts for ladies in it; and at the same time, and for the same purpose, four dresses for men actors were delivered out of the king's store.

These particulars are followed by some undated details, (at least, my memorandum has no date) devised by "Master Harry Gyllfurth," (Sir Henry Guildford) which appears to have consisted of a "Morryshe Dance," or morris-dance, by the King's henchmen, who came out of an artificial hill on the top of which was "a goldyn stoke, branchyd with roses, and pomgarnats [pomegranates] crowned."

On the 12th of February there were farther revels at Whitehall, and in the account furnished by Gibson we have a very curious description of an artificial forest, which had been made "within the house of the Blackfriars at Ludgate," and which is thus described: "The forest was xxvj feet long and xvj foot brode, and in the haythe ix foot of assyez, whiche forest was garnechyd with trees and bows artyfycyall, as hawthornes, okes, mapylls, hasylls, byrches, fern, broom, fyrs; with beasts and byrds in bosyd (embosched?) of sundry facyon, with forsters sytting and going on the top of the same: and a kastell in the sayd forest with a maydyn syttyng thereby with a garland, and a lyon of gret statyer and bygnes, with an antlope of lyke proporcyon after hys kynd, drawyng the sayd pagent or forest, with men in woodwys [woodwise] apparell, and ij maydyns syttyng on the sayd ij beasts: in the whiche forest were iiij men of arms rydyng, that yssoud out at a tyme apoynted."

It is not easy to imagine how so many objects could be crowded into a space of only twenty-six feet by sixteen. It seems that the revels continued for two days, and that a portion of the entertainment was a disguising of twelve lords

and ladies and eight minstrels. A singular item of expense was "a standish for the Subdean," which was placed upon a desk at the foot of the pageant, or artificial forest. William Cornish, who had "a playing gown," was the leader of the minstrels; and we are also informed that "Master Bryan had a playing gown," as if he had been a performer in the dramatic portion of the entertainment. It ought also to be stated that "Master Sub-dean" was dressed in a garment of "blue damask set with winged faces," meaning probably the heads of cherubs, appropriate to his clerical profession.

One of the most noticeable circumstances in the revels of 15th November is, that a professed fool was one of the performers; for Gibson charges a halfpenny for "a turnyd ladyll spent for the foole:" he had likewise a new coat for the occasion, and clearly belonged to the morris-dance which was presented before the King. "The foole (we are informed) had on his legges and armys nine dozen belles: the whyte Knyght had nine dozen belles," and the black and green knights the same number, but in what way any of the knights were concerned in the morris-dance is not stated, and with our imperfect knowledge on such matters we cannot conjecture.

During the show, or part of it, when the King was not engaged as a performer, he sat in "a pavilion of blue velvet with a fringe of Venice silk."

A singular custom is mentioned at the close of the document, viz., that the King's guard, "and other gentlemen," had the privilege by any means of getting possession of whatever they could, that had belonged to the furniture of the royal revels. The consequence was that, when the show was at an end, they fell upon the artificial forest and tore it all to pieces; so that the bare timber-work alone remained. Gibson adds that two of the poor men, who had been appointed to keep the forest, had their heads broken, and that others escaped with difficulty. On the next day an attack was made upon the pavilions, and four of them were saved after a considerable struggle.

If the Council of the Shakespeare Society think these new particulars worth printing, they are quite at their service. To me, for many reasons, they appear exceedingly curious: my notes, I should observe, were made at the Chapter House in the time of the late Mr. Cayley.

Should these particulars meet with insertion, I shall be tempted on a future occasion to furnish others, which, I apprehend, are equally remarkable: none of them are included by Mr. Cunningham in his valuable work, printed for the Shakespeare Society in 1842, entitled "Extracts from the Accounts of Revels at Court," because he does not go back to so early a date. Neither are they noticed by Mr. Collier in his "History of Dramatic Poetry and the Stage." I only mention this, in order to establish that the information is quite new as well as valuable.

A MEMBER FROM THE FIRST.

London, 23rd December, 1846.

ART. XIII.—“*Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*,” not by Francis Beaumont: the edition of 1602.

Had the original edition of “*Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*,” 1602, 4to, been a work of sufficient length, I should have recommended it to the Shakespeare Society for separate publication: as it is short, as it is of peculiar interest in reference to Francis Beaumont, (whose works, with those of Fletcher, have so recently been republished) and as it has never been reprinted from the only authentic impression, it may be worth while to include it in the literary and dramatic miscellany, issued under the title of “The Shakespeare Society’s Papers.”

For this purpose I have made an accurate transcript of the poem from the only known copy, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and I append it to this introduction. I presume that the Rev. Mr. Dyce was not aware of its existence in so accessible a depository, or he would not have adopted and inserted in his edition of “Beaumont and Fletcher” the very faulty and corrupt text of Lawrence Blaiklock in 1648 and 1653.

It will be observed, from the title-page of the edition of 1602, that the name of Francis Beaumont no where appears in connexion with it; and, without going the length of asserting positively that he had no hand whatever in it, it may be strongly doubted whether Blaiklock did not impute it to him fraudulently, in order to avail himself of the popularity of Beaumont’s name. From the period of the death of Shakespeare to the breaking out of the Civil Wars, it is admitted that the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher were better relished by the multitude than those of Shakespeare. Blaiklock seems to have obtained a copy of the anonymous poem, “*Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*,” as it had been printed for the first time in 1602;

and many years after the death of Beaumont, when his plays and those of Fletcher were daily acted at the Blackfriars and Globe Theatres, he thought it would answer his purpose to reprint it boldly, as the undoubted work of Beaumont.

I do not say that such was actually, but that such was most probably, the case; and when the Rev. Mr. Dyce urges ("Beaumont and Fletcher," xi., 445) that Blaiklock may have printed from an independent manuscript, he had not seen the original impression of 1602, or he would have found to demonstration, that Blaiklock merely used that impression, and that the changes he made in the preliminary matter were introduced dishonestly, to make the reader believe that he was perusing a poem the authentic work of no less a man than Francis Beaumont.

Now, as to these fraudulent changes. I have already remarked that in the edition of 1602 the name of Beaumont is no where met with; nor are even his initials appended to any of the introductory poems; but when Blaiklock, as a trick of trade, wished it to be supposed that "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus" was by Beaumont, he not only appended his initials, F. B., to the address "To the true patroness of all poetry, Calliope," but he altered those of A. F. (subscribed in 1602 to three stanzas "to the Author,") to I. F., with the intention that these commendatory verses should be imputed to Beaumont's dramatic partner, John Fletcher. The falsehood was carried still farther in 1660, for Blaiklock's volume of 1640 and 1653 was again put forth, with greater impudence, as "The Golden Remains of those so much admired Dramatic Poets, Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher." They were given to Beaumont only in 1640 and 1653; but in 1660 it was the bookseller's interest to assign a share in them to Fletcher, although it is now notorious that he did not contribute a single line, and that poems by Ben Jonson, Shirley, Donne, Randolph, Cleveland, and even Waller, were foisted in to swell the bulk of the volume.

I feel confident that the eyes of the Rev. Mr. Dyce would have been opened to the fraud of imputing "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus" to Beaumont, had he seen the first edition of it; and I learn from Mr. Dyce's notes that Mr. Payne Collier, in his "Shakespeare," because he had seen the original edition, arrived at the conclusion that Beaumont had nothing whatever to do with "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus." I met with the poem in the Bodleian at least ten years ago, and then made up my mind that Blaiklock had been guilty of an imposition, especially when I recollected the extreme youth of Beaumont in 1602. It is but fair, however, to the Rev. Mr. Dyce, to admit that his notion seems to be that Beaumont was not quite so young as he has been represented by other biographers.¹

Having herewith sent a faithful transcript of the edition of 1602, from the first word of the title to the last line of the poem, it is not worth while to extend my remarks in order to show how much better is the old text than that which was used by the Rev. Mr. Dyce, and by others who have reprinted "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus." It will be observed by those who compare the two, that lines have been omitted, and that various passages, hitherto unintelligible or obscure, are to be explained and understood without difficulty. The blunders of Blaiklock commence at the very beginning, and are carried on to the end: I will only illustrate this position by two instances. The last couplet of a copy of verses headed "The Author to the Reader," in Blaiklock's edition, runs thus—

"I hope my poem is so lively writ,
That thou wilt turn *half-mad* with reading it."

¹ He is a little at variance with himself on this point: in his biographical account of Beaumont, (p. xxii.) he argues that Beaumont was born before 1586; and yet, in his note on p. 445 of Vol. xi, when the line of his argument led him to represent Beaumont as a mere boy, he tells us, without qualification, that he "was then only sixteen."

Why was the reader to turn "half-mad?" The true compound in the original is *half-maid*, in reference to the fate of Hermaphroditus;

"I hope my poem is so lively writ,
That thou wilt turn *half-maid* with reading it."

Again, in the body of the poem, as reprinted by the Rev. Mr. Dyce from Blaiklock, this couplet is put into the mouth of Salmacis, and addressed to Hermaphroditus—

"If *any's wish* with thy sweet bed be blest,
Oh! she is far more happy than the rest."

"If this be not sheer nonsense, it is next door to it," as was said by a celebrated commentator; but what is the ancient and authentic reading of 1602? This—

"If *any wife* with thy sweet bed be blest,
Oh! she is far more happy than the rest."

Many other proofs of corruptions, quite as gross and glaring, might be pointed out, if I were to lengthen this introduction; but I feel that it would only be a waste of space, when I enable any member of the Shakespeare Society, who is as deeply interested as I am in our early literature, to make a minute comparison between the text of 1602 and that of 1640, 1653, and 1660.

Supposing "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus" to be a genuine work by Francis Beaumont, a point in which I cannot agree with the Rev. Mr. Dyce, he had no choice but to reprint Blaiklock's text, not being of course acquainted with the existence of a better text in the Bodleian Library. As it is understood to be a unique tract, it has the stronger claim to perpetuation by the Shakespeare Society.

DRAMATICUS.

Oxford, 18 January, 1847.

VOL. III.

H



S A L M A C I S

AND

H E R M A P H R O -

DITVS.

Salmacida spolia sine sanguine

& sudore.

Imprinted at London for *Iohn Hodgets* :*And are to be sold at his shop in Fleete-*

street, at the signe of the Flowre

de Luce, neere Fetter-lane.

1602.

To the true patronesse of all Potrie,

Caliope.

It is a statute in deepe wisdomes lore,
 That for his lines none should a patrō chuse
 By wealth or pouerty, by lesse or more,
 But who the same is able to peruse ;
 Nor ought a man his labors dedicate,
 Without a true and sensible desert,
 To any power of such a mighty state,
 And such a wise Defendresse as thou art.

Thou great and powerful Muse, then, pardon mee,
 That I presume thy Mayden-cheeke to stayne,
 In dedicating such a worke to thee,
 Sprung from the issue of an idle brayne.

I vse thee as a woman ought to bee:

I consecrate my idle howres to thee.

In laudem Authoris.

Like to the weake estate of a poore friend,
 To whom sweet fortune hath bene euer slow,
 Which dayly doth that happy howre attend,
 When his poore state may his affection show;
 So fares my loue, not able as the rest,
 To chaunt thy prayses in a lofty vayne,
 Yet my poor Muse doth vow to doe her best,
 And, wanting wings, shee'le tread an humble strayne.
 I thought at first her homely steps to rayse,
 And for some blazing Epithites to looke;
 But then I feared, that by such wondrous prayse
 Some men would grow suspicious of thy booke:

For hee that doth thy due deserts reherse,

Depriues that glory from thy worthy verse.

W. B.

To the Author.

Eyther the goddesse drawes her troupe of loues
 From Paphos, where she erst was held diuine,
 And doth vnyoke her tender-necked Doues,
 Placing her seat in this small papry shrine;
 Or the sweet Graces through th' Idalian groue
 Led the blest Author in their daunced rings,
 Or wanton Nymphs in watry bowres haue woue,
 With fine Mylesian threds, the verse he sings;

Or curious Pallas once againe doth striue,
 With prowde Arachne for illustrious glory,
 And once againe doth loues of gods reuiue,
 Spinning in silken twists a lasting story :
 If none of these, then Venus chose his sight,
 To leade the steps of her blind sonne aright.

I. B.

To the Author.

The matchlesse Lustre of faire poesie,
 Which erst was bury'd in old Romes decayes,
 Now 'gins with height of rising maiesty
 Her dust-wrapt head from rotton tombes to rayse,
 And with fresh splendor gilds her toplesse crest,
 Rearing her palace in our Poets brest.

The wanton Ouid, whose inticing rimes
 Haue with attractiue wonder forc't attention,
 No more shall be admired at; for these times
 Produce a Poet, whose more mouing passion
 Will teare the loue-sick mirtle from his browes,
 T' adorne his Temple with deserued bowes.

The strongest marble feares the smallest rayne,
 The rusting canker eates the purest gold,
 Honours best dye dreads enuies blackest stayne,
 The crimson badge of beautie must waxe old;
 But this faire issue of thy fruitfull brayne,
 Nor dreads age, enuie, cankring rust, or rayne.

A. F.

The Author to the Reader.

I sing the fortunes of a lucklesse payre,
 Whose spotlesse soules now in one body be;
 For beauty still is Prodromus to care,
 Crost by the sad starres of natiuitie;

And of the strange enchauntment of a well,
 Gi'n by the gods, my sportiue Muse doth write,
 Which sweet-lipt Ouid long agoe did tell,
 Wherein who bathes strait turnes Hermaphrodite.
 I hope my Poeme is so liuely writ,
 That thou wilt turne halfe-mayd with reading it.

SALMACIS AND HERMAPHRODITUS.

My wanton lines doe treat of amorous loue,
 Such as would bow the hearts of gods aboue :
 Then Venus, thou great Citherian Queene,
 That houely tripst on the Idalian greene,
 Thou laughing Erycina, daygne to see
 The verses wholly consecrate to thee ;
 Temper them so within thy Paphian shrine,
 That euery louers eye may melt a line :
 Commaund the god of Loue, that little King,
 To giue each verse a sleight touch with his wing,
 That as I write, one line may draw the tother,
 And euery word skip nimbly o're another.

There was a louely boy the Nymphs had kept,
 That on the Idane mountaines oft had slept,
 Begot and borne by powers that dwelt aboue
 By learned Mercury of the Queene of loue :
 A face he had that shew'd his parents fame,
 And from them both conioynd, he drew his name.
 So wondrous fayre he was that (as they say)
 Diana being hunting on a day,
 Shee saw the boy vpon a greene banke lay him,
 And there the virgin-huntresse meant to slay him,
 Because no Nymphes did now pursue the chase,
 For all were strooke blind with the wantons face.
 But when that beauteous face Diana saw,
 Her armes were nummed, and she could not draw ;

Yet did she striue to shoot, but all in vaine,
Shee bent her bow, and loos'd it streight againe:
Then she began to chide her wanton eye,
And fayne would shoot, but durst not see him die.
She turn'd and shot, and did of purpose misse him,
She turnd againe, and did of purpose kisse him.
Then the boy ran; for (some say) had he stayd,
Diana had no longer bene a mayd.
Phoebus so doted on this rosiat face,
That he hath oft stole closely from his place,
When he did lie by fayre Leucothoes side,
To dally with him in the vales of Ide;
And euer since this louely boy did die,
Phoebus each day about the world doth flie
And on the earth he seekes him all the day,
And euery night he seekes him in the sea.
His cheeke was sanguine, and his lip as red
As are the blushing leaues of the Rose spred;
And I haue heard that, till this boy was borne,
Roses grew white vpon the virgin thorne,
Till one day walking to a pleasant spring,
To heare how cunningly the birds could sing,
Laying him downe vpon a flowry bed,
The Roses blush'd, and turnd themselves to red.
The Rose that blush'd not, for his great offence
The gods did punish, and for impudence,
They gave this doome, that was agreed by all;
The smell of the white Rose should be but small.
His haire was bushie, but it was not long:
The Nymphs had done his tresses mighty wrong,
For, as it grew, they puld away his haire,
And made abilliments of gold to weare.
His eyes were Cupids; for, vntill his birth,
Cupid had eyes, and liu'd vpon the earth,
Till on a day, when the great Queene of loue
Was by her white doues drawn frō heauen aboue

Vnto the top of the Idalian hill,
To see how well the Nymphs their charge fulfill,
And whether they had done the goddesse right,
In nursing of her sweet Hermaphrodite ;
Whom when she saw, although complete and full,
Yet she complayned, his eyes were somewhat dull,
And, therefore, more the wanton boy to grace,
She puld the sparkling eyes from Cupid's face,
Fayning a cause to take away his sight,
Because the Ape would sometimes shoot for spight.
But Venus set those eyes in such a place,
As grac't those cleare eyes with a clearer face.
For his white hand each goddesse did him woo,
For it was whiter then the driuen snow :
His legge was straighter then the thigh of Joue,
And he farre fairer then the god of loue.

When first this wel-shapt boy, beauties chiefe king,
Had seene the labour of the fifteenth spring,
How curiously it paynted all the earth,
He 'gan to trauaile from his place of birth,
Leauing the stately hils where he was nurst,
And where the Nymphs had brough him vp at first:
He loued to trauaile to the coasts vnknowne,
To see the regions farre beyond his owne,
Seeking cleare watry springs to bathe him in,
(For he did loue to wash his iuory skinne.)
The louely Nymphes haue oft times seene him swimme,
And closely stole his clothes from off the brim,
Because the wanton wenches would so fayne
See him come nak'd, to aske his clothes againe.
He lou'd besides to see the Lycian grounds,
And know the wealthy Carians vtmost bounds.

Vsing to trauaile thus, one day he found
A cristall brooke that tril'd along the ground,
A brooke, that in reflection did surpass
The cleare reflection of the clearest glasse.

About the side there grew no foggy reedes,
Nor was the fount compast with barren weedes,
But liuing turfe grew all along the side,
And grasse that euer flourisht in his pride.
Within this brooke a beauteous Nymph did dwell,
Who for her comely feature did excell;
So faire she was, of such a pleasing grace,
So straight a body, and so sweet a face,
So soft a belly, such a lustie thigh,
So large a forehead, such a cristall eye,
So soft and moyst a hand, so smooth a brest,
So faire a cheeke, so well in all the rest,
That Jupiter would revel in her bowre,
Were he to spend again his golden showre:
Her teeth were whiter then the morning's milke,
Her lip was softer then the softest silke,
Her haire as farre surpast the burnisht gold,
As siluer doth excell the basest mold:
Joue courted her for her translucent eye,
And told her he would place her in the skye,
Promising her, if she would be his loue,
He would ingraue her in the heauen aboue;
Telling this louely Nymph, that if he would,
He could deceiue her in a showre of gold,
Or like a Swanne come to her naked bed,
And so deceiue her of her maiden-head.
But yet, because he thought that pleasure best,
Where each consenting ioynes each louing brest,
He would put off that all-commaunding crowne,
Whose terrour strooke th' aspiring Giants downe,
That glittering crown, whose radiāt sight did tosse
Great Pelion from the top of mighty Osse,
He would depose from his world-swaying head,
To taste the amorous pleasures of her bed:
This added he besides, the more to grace her,
Like a bright starre he would in heauen's vault place her.

By this the proud lasciuious Nymph was mou'd,
Perceuing by great Joue shee was belou'd,
And hoping as a starre she should ere long
Be sterne or gracious to the Sea-mans song,
(For mortals still are subject to their eye,
And what it sees, they striue to get as hie)
Shee was contented that almighty Joue
Should haue the first and best fruits of her loue;
(For women may be likened to the yeere,
Whose first fruites still do make the dayntiest cheere)
But yet Astræa first should plight her troth
For the performance of Joue's sacred oth.
(Just times decline, and all good dayes are dead,
When heauenly othes had need be warranted.)
This heard great Jupiter and lik'd it well,
And hastily he seekes Astræa's cell,
About the massie earth searching her towre;
But she had long since left this earthly bowre,
And flew to heauen aboue, lothing to see
The sinfull actions of humanitie.
Which when Joue did perceiue, he left the earth,
And flew up to the place of his owne birth,
The burning heauenly throne, where he did spy
Astræa's palace in the glittering skie.

This stately towre was builded vp on hie,
Farre from the reach of any mortall eye;
And from the palace side there did distill
A little water, through a little quill,
The dewe of iustice, which did seldome fall,
And when it dropt, the drops were very small.
Glad was great Joue when he beheld her towre,
Meaning a while to rest him in her bowre,
And therefore sought to enter at her dore,
But there was such busie rout before,
Some seruing men, and some promooters bee,
That he could passe no foote without a fee;

But as he goes, he reaches out his hands,
And payes each one in order as he stands;
And still, as he was paying those before,
Some slipt againe betwixt him and the dore.
At length (with much adoo) he past them all,
And entred straight into a spacious hall,
Full of darke angles, and of hidden wayes,
Crooked mæanders, infinite delayes;
All which delayes and entries he must passe,
Ere he could come where iust Astræa was.

All these being past by his immortall wit,
Without her doore he saw a porter sit,
An aged man, that long time there had beene,
Who vs'd to search all those that entred in,
And still to euery one he gave this curse,
None must see Iustice but with emptie purse.
This man searcht Ioue for his owne priuate gaine,
To haue the money which did yet remaine,
Which was but small, for much was spent before
On the tumultuous rout that kept the dore.
When he had done, he brought him to the place
Where he should see diuine Astræa's face.
Then the great king of gods and men in went,
And saw his daughter Venus there lament,
And crying loud for iustice, whom Ioue found
Kneeling before Astræa on the ground;
And still she cry'd and beg'd for a iust doome
Againste black Vulcan, that vnseemely groome,
Whome she had chosen for her onely loue,
Though she was daughter to great thundring Joue;
And though the fairest goddessse, yet content
To marrie him, though weake and impotent:
But for all this, they alwayes were at strife,
For euermore he rayld at her his wife,
Telling her still, Thou art no wife of mine,
Another's strumpet, Mars his concubine.

By this Astræa spyde almighty Joue,
And bow'd her finger to the Queene of loue,
To cease her sute, which she would heare anon,
When the great King of all the world was gone.

Then she descended from her stately throne,
Which seat was builded all of iasper stone,
And o're the seat was paynted all aboue,
The wanton vnseene stealths of amorous Joue.
There might a man behold the naked pride
Of louely Venus in the vale of Ide,
When Pallas, and Joue's beauteous wife, and she,
Stroue for the prise of beauties raritie:
And there lame Vulcan and his Cyclops stroue
To make the thunderbolts for mighty Joue.
From this same stately throne she down descēded,
And sayd, the griefs of Joue should be amended,
Asking the King of gods what lucklesse cause,
What great contēpt of state, what breach of lawes
(For sure she thought, some vncouth cause befell,
That made him visit poore Astræa's cell)
Troubled his thought? and if she might decide it,
Who vexed great Joue, he dearely should abide it.
Joue onely thankd her, and beganne to show
His cause of comming (for each one doth know
The longing words of louers are not many,
If they desire to be inioyd of any)
Telling Astræa, It might now befall,
That she might make him blest, that blesseth all;
For, as he walked vpon the flowry earth,
To which his owne hands whilome gaue a birth,
To see how streight he held it, and how iust
He rold this massy pondrous heape of dust,
He laid him downe by a coole riuer side,
Whose pleasant water did so gently slide
With such soft whispering, for the brook was deepe,
That it had lull'd him in a heauenly sleepe.

When first he laid him downe, there was none neere him,
(For he did call before, but none could heare him)
But a faire Nymph was bathing when he waked,
(Here sigh'd great Joue, and after brought forth) nak'd.
He, seeing, loued the Nymph : yet here did rest,
Where iust Astræa might make Joue be blest,
If she would passe her faithfull word so farre,
As that great Joue should make the mayd a starre.
Astræa yielded; at which Joue was pleas'd,
And all his longing hopes and feares were eas'd.

Joue tooke his leaue, and parted from her sight,
Whose thoughts were ful of louers sweet delight,
And she ascended to her throne aboue,
To heare the griefes of the great Queene of love;
But she was satisfide, and would no more
Rayle at her husband as she did before :
But forth she tript apace, because she stroue
With her swift feet to ouertake great Joue.
She skipt so nimbly as she went to looke him,
That at the palace doore she ouertooke him,
Which way was plaine and broad as they went out,
And now they could see no tumultuous rout.
Here Venus, fearing lest the loue of Joue
Should make this mayd be plac'd in heauen aboue,
Because she thought this Nymph so wondrous bright,
That she would dazel her accustom'd light;
And fearing now she would not first be seene
Of all the glittering starres, as she had beene,
But that the wanton Nymph would eu'ry night
Be first that should salute eche mortall sight,
Began to tell great Joue, she griued to see
The heauen so full of his iniquity,
Complayning that eche strumpet now was grac'd,
And with immortall goddesses was plac'd,
Intreating him to place in heauen no more
Eche wanton strumpet and laciuious whore.

Joue, mad with loue, harkned not what she sayd,
His thoughts were so intangled with the mayd,
But furiously he to his palace lept,
Being minded there till morning to have slept.
For the next morne, as soone as Phœbus' rayes
Should yet shine coole, by reason of the seas,
And ere the parting teares of Thætis bed
Should be quite shak't from off his glittering head,
Astræa promised to attend great Ioue,
At his owne palace in the heauen aboue,
And at that palace she would set her hand
To what the loue-sick god should her command;
But to descend to earth she did deny,
She loath'd the sight of any mortall eye;
And for the compasse of the earthly round,
She would not set one foot vpon the ground.
Therefore Joue meant to rise but with the sunne,
Yet thought it long vntill the night was done.

In the meane space, Venus was drawne along
By her white doues vnto the sweating throng
Of hammering Black-smithes, at the lofty hill
Of stately Etna, whose top burneth still;
(For at that burning mountaynes glittering top,
Her cripple husband, Vulcan, kept his shop.)
To him she went, and so collogues that night,
With the best straines of pleasures sweat delight,
That, ere they parted, she made Vulcan sweare
By dreadfull Stix, an othe the gods do feare,
If Joue would make the mortall mayd a starre,
Himselfe should frame his instruments of warre,
And tooke his othe by blacke Cocitus Lake,
He neuer more a thunderbolt would make;
For Venus so this night his sences pleas'd,
That now he thought his former griefs were eas'd.
She with her hands the black-smith's body bound,
And with her iu'ry armes she twyn'd him round,

And still the faire Queene, with a pretty grace,
Disperst her sweet breath o're his swarty face:
Her snowy armes so well she did display,
That Vulcan thought they melted as they lay.

Vntill the morne in this delight they lay,
Then vp they got, and hasted fast away
In the white chariot of the Queene of loue,
Towards the palace of great thundring Joue,
Where they did see diuine Astræa stand,
To passe her word for what Joue should command.
In limpt the Blacke-smith, after stept his Queene,
Whose light arrayment was of louely greene.
When they were in, Vulcan began to sweare
By othes that Jupiter himselfe doth feare,
If any whore in heauen's bright vault were seene
To dimme the shining of his beauteous Queene,
Each mortall man should the great gods disgrace,
And mocke almightie Joue vnto his face,
And Giants should enforce bright heauen to fall,
Ere he would frame one thunderbolt at all.
Joue did intreat him that he would forbear:
The more he spoke, the more Vulcan sweare.
Joue heard his words, and 'gan to make his mone,
That mortall men would plucke him from his throne,
Or else he must incurre this plague, he said,
Quite to forgoe the pleasure of the mayd:
And once he thought, rather than lose her blisses,
Her heauenly sweets, her most delicious kisses,
Her soft embraces, and the amorous nights,
That he should often spend in her delights,
He would be quite thrown down by mortal hands,
From the blest place where his bright palace stands.
But afterwards he saw, with better sight,
He should be scorn'd by euery mortall wight,
If he should want his thunderbolts, to beate
Aspiring mortals from his glittering seate.

Therefore the god no more did woo or proue her,
But left to seeke her loue, though not to loue her.
Yet he forgot not that he woo'd the lasse,
But made her twise as beauteous as she was.
Because he wanted loue he needs would shew.
This haue I heard, but yet scarce thought it true ;
And whether her cleare beautie was so bright,
That it could dazel the immortall sight
Of gods, and make them for her loue despaire,
I do not know, but sure the maid was faire.

Yet the faire Nymph was neuer seene resort
Vnto the sauage and the bloudy sport
Of chaste Diana, nor was euer wont
To bend a bow, nor euer did she hunt,
Nor euer did she striue, with pretie cunning,
To ouergoe her fellow Nymphs in running ;
For she was the faire water-Nymph alone,
That vnto chaste Diana was vnknowne.
It is reported, that her fellows vs'd
To bid her (though the beauteous Nymph refus'd)
To take, or painted quivers or a dart,
And put her lazy idlenesse apart :
Nor tooke she painted quivers, nor a dart,
Nor put her lazy idlenesse apart,
But in her cristall fountaine oft she swimmes,
And oft she washes o're her snowy limmes.
Sometimes she comb'd her soft discheuel'd hayre,
Which with a fillet tide she oft did weare ;
But sometimes loose she did it hang behind,
When she was pleas'd to grace the Easterne wind,
For vp and downe it would her tresses hurle,
And as she went, it made her loose hayre curle.
Oft in the water did she looke her face,
And oft she vs'd to practise what quaint grace
Might well become her, and what comely feature
Might be best fitting so diuine a creature.

Her skinne was with a thinne vaile ouerthrone,
Through which her naked beauty clearly shone.
She vs'd, in this light rayment as she was,
To spread her body on the dewy grasse :
Sometimes by her owne fountaine as she walkes,
She nips the flowres from off the fertile stalkes,
And with a garland of the sweating vine,
Sometimes she doth her beauteous front in-twine ;
But she was gathering flowres with her white hand,
When she beheld Hermaphroditus stand
By her cleare fountaine, wondring at the sight,
That there was any brooke could be so bright :
For this was the bright riuer, where the boy
Did dye himselfe, that he could not enioy
Himselfe in pleasure, nor could taste the blisses
Of his owne melting and delicious kisses.
Here did she see him, and by Venus law
She did desire to haue him as she saw.

But the fayre Nymph had neuer seene the place
Where the boy was, nor his inchanting face,
But by an vncouth accident of loue
Betwixt great Phœbus and the sonne of Joue,
Light-headed Bacchus: for vpon a day,
As the boy-god was keeping on his way,
Bearing his vine leaues and his iuie bands
To Naxos, where his house and temple stands,
He saw the Nymph ; and seeing, he did stay,
And threw his leaues and iuie bands away,
Thinking at first she was of heauenly birth,
Some goddessse that did liue vpon the earth,
Virgin Diana, that so louely shone
When she did court her sweet Endimion :
But he, a god, at last did plainely see,
She had no marke of immortallitie.
Vnto the Nymph went the young god of wine,
Whose head was chaf'd so with the bleeding vine,

That now, or feare or terrour had he none,
But 'gan to court her as she sat alone.

Fayrer then fayrest (thus began his speech)
Would but your radiant eye please to enrich
My eye with looking, or one glaunce to giue,
Whereby my other parts might feede and liue,
Or with one sight my sences to inspire,
Far liuelier then the stole Promethian fire;
Then might I liue, then by the sunny light
That should proceed from thy thrise-radiant sight,
I might suruiue to ages; but that missing,
(At that same word he would haue faine bin kissing)
I pine, fayre Nymph: O, never let me dye
For one poore glaunce from thy translucent eye,
Farre more transparent then the clearest brooke.

The Nymph was taken with his golden hooke;
Yet she turn'd backe, and would have tript away,
But Bacchus forc't the louely mayd to stay,
Asking her why she struggled to be gone,
Why such a Nymph should wish to be alone?
Heauen neuer made her faire, that she should vaunt
She kept all beautie, it would neuer graunt;
She should be borne so beauteous from her mother,
But to reflect her beauty on another:
Then with a sweet kisse cast thy beames on mee,
And Ile reflect them backe againe on thee.
At Naxos stands my Temple and my Shrine,
Where I do presse the lusty swelling Vine;
There with green iuie shall thy head be bound,
And with the red grape be incircled round;
There shall Silenus sing vnto thy praise,
His drunken reeling songs and tickling layes.
Come hither, gentle Nymph. Here blusht the maid,
And faine she would haue gone, but yet she staid.
Bacchus perceiu'd he had o'recome the lasse,
And down he throwes her in the dewy grasse,

And kist the helplesse Nymph vpon the ground,
And would haue stray'd beyond that lawful boūd.
This saw bright Phœbus; for his glittering eye
Sees all that lies below the starry skye,
And for an old affection that he bore
Vnto this louely Nymph long time before,
(For he would ofttimes in his circle stand
To sport himselfe vpon her snowy hand)
He kept her from the sweets of Bacchus bed,
And 'gainst her wil he sau'd her maiden-head.

Bacchus, perceiuing this, apace did hie
Vnto the Palace of swift Mercury,
But he did find him farre below his birth,
Drinking with theeues and catch-poles on the earth;
And they were drinking what they stole to day,
In consultation for to morrowes prey.
To him went youthfull Bachus, and begun
To shew his cause of grieve against the Sunne;
How he bereft him of his heauenly blisses,
His sweet delights, his nectar-flowing kisses,
And other sweeter sweetes that he had wonne,
But for the malice of the bright fac't Sunne;
Intreating Mercury, by all the loue
That had bene borne amongst the sonnes of Joue,
Of which they two were part, to stand his friend
Against the god that did him so offend.
The quaint-tongu'd issue of great Atlas' race,
Swift Mercury, that, with delightfull grace
And pleasing accents of his fayned tongue,
Hath oft reform'd a rude vnciuill throng
Of mortals; that great messenger of Joue,
And all the meaner gods that dwell above;
He whose acute wit was so quicke and sharpe
In the inuention of the crooked Harpe;
He that's so cunning with his iesting slights,
To steale from heauenly gods, or earthly wights,

Bearing a great hate in his griued brest,
Against the great commaunder of the West,
Bright-fac't Appollo; for vpon a day,
Yong Mercury did steale his beasts away,
Which the great god perceiuing streight did shew
The pearcing arrowes and the fearefull bow
That kild great Pithon, & with that did threat him,
To bring his beasts againe, or he would beat him:
Which Mercury perceiuing, vnespide,
Did closely steale his arrowes from his side.
For this old grudge he was the easlyer wonne
To helpe young Bacchus 'gainst the fierie Sunne.

And now the sunne was in the middle way,
And had o'recome the one halfe of the day,
Scorching so hot vpon the reeking sand
That lies vpon the neere Egyptian land,
That the hot people, burnt e'ne from their birth,
Do creepe againe into their mother earth,
When Mercury did take his powerfull wand,
His charming Cadusæus in his hand,
And a thick beuer, which he vs'd to weare
When ought from Joue he to the Sunne did beare,
That did protect him from the piercing light
Which did proceed from Phœbus glittering sight.
Clad in these powerfull ornaments he flies
With outstretcht wings vp to the asure skies:
Where seeing Phœbus in his orient shrine,
He did so well reuenge the god of wine,
That whil'st the Sun wonders his Chariot reeles,
The craftie god had stole away his wheelles.
Which when he did perceiue, he down did slide,
(Laying his glittering coronet aside)
From the bright spangled firmament aboue,
To seeke the Nymph that Bacchus so did loue,
And founde her looking in her watry glasse,
To see how cleare her radiant beauty was.

And, for he had but little time to stay,
Because he meant to finish out his day,
At the first sight he 'gan to make his mone,
Telling her how his fiery wheelles were gone;
Promising her, if she would but obtaine
The wheelles that Mercury had stolne againe,
That he might end his day, she should enioy
The heauenly sight of the most beauteous boy
That euer was. The Nymph was pleased with this,
Hoping to reape some vnaccustom'd blisse
By the sweet pleasure that she should enioy
In the blest sight of such a melting boy.

Therefore at his request she did obtaine
The burning wheelles, that he had lost, againe :
Which when he had receiu'd, he left the land,
And brought them thither where his coach did stand,
And there he set them on ; for all this space,
The horses had not stirr'd from out their place :
Which when he saw, he wept and 'gan to say,
Would Mercury had stole my wheelles away,
When Phaeton, my hare-brain'd issue, tride,
What a laborious thing it was to guide
My burning chariot, thē he might haue pleas'd me,
And of one father's griefe he might haue eas'd me :
For then the steeds would haue obayd his will,
Or else at least they would haue rested still.
When he had done, he tooke his whip of steele,
Whose bitter smart he made his horses feele ;
For he did lash so hard, to end the day,
That he was quickly at the Westernne sea,
And there with Thætis did he rest a space,
For he did neuer rest in any place
Before that time : but euer since his wheelles
Were stole away, his burning chariot reeles
Tow'rds the declining of the parting day :
Therefore he lights and mends them in the sea.

And though the Poets fayne, that Joue did make
A treble night for faire Alcmena's sake,
That he might sleepe securely with his loue,
Yet sure the long night was vnknowne to Joue,
But the Sunnes wheelles, one day disordred more,
Were thrice as long amending as before.

Now was the Sunne inuiron'd with the sea,
Cooling his watrie tresses as he lay,
And in dread Neptune's kingdome while he sleeps,
Faire Thætis clips him in the watry deeps,
The Mayre-maids, and the Tritons of the West,
Strayning their voyces to make Titan rest.
And while the blacke night with her pitchie hand,
Tooke iust possession of the swarfie land,
He spent the darksome howres in this delight,
Giuing his power vp to the gladsome night;
For ne're before was he so truely blest,
To take an houre, or one poore minute's rest.
But now the burning god this pleasure feeles,
By reason of his newly crazed wheelles:
There must he stay untill lame Vulcan send
The fierie wheelles which he had tooke to mend.
Now al the night the Smith so hard had wrought,
That ere the Sunne could wake his wheelles were brought.
Titan being pleas'd with rest, and not to rise,
And loth to open yet his slumbring eyes,
And yet perceiuing how the longing sight
Of mortals wayted for his glittering light,
He sent Aurora from him to the skie,
To giue a glimsing to each mortall eye.
Aurora, much asham'd of that same place
That great Apollos light was wont to grace,
Finding no place to hide her shamefull head,
Paynted her chaste cheeks with a blushing red,
Which euer since remain'd vpon her face,
In token of her new receiu'd disgrace:

Therefore she, not so white as she had beene,
 Lothing of euery mortall to be seene,
 No sooner can the rosie fingred morne
 Kisse eu'ry flowre that by her dew is borne,
 But from her golden window she doth peepe,
 When the most part of earthly creatures sleepe.

By this bright Titan opened had his eyes,
 And 'gan to ierke his horses through the skies,
 And taking in his hand his fierie whip,
 He made Æous and swift Æthon skip
 So fast, that straight he dazled had the sight
 Of faire Aurora, glad to see his light.

And now the Sunne, in all his fierie haste,
 Did call to minde his promise lately past,
 And all the vowes and othes that he did passe
 Vnto faire Salmacis, the beautious lasse:
 For he had promised her she should enioy
 So louely faire, and such a well shap't boy,
 As ne're before his owne all-seeing eye
 Saw from his bright seate in the starry skye.
 Remembring this, he sent the boy that way
 Where the cleare fountain of the fayre Nymph lay:
 There was he come to seeke some pleasing brooke.
 No sooner came he, but the Nymph wasstrooke;
 And though she hasted to imbrace the boy,
 Yet did the Nymph awhile deferre her ioy,
 Till she had bound vp her loose flagging haire,
 And ordred well the garments she did weare,
 Fayning her count'nance with a louers care,
 And did deserue to be accounted fayre.
 And thus much spake she while the boy abode:
 O boy, most worthy to be thought a god,
 Thou mayst inhabit in the glorious place
 Of gods, or maist proceed from humane race:
 Thou mayst be Cupid, or the god of wine,
 That lately woo'd me with the swelling vine;

But whosoe're thou art, O happy he,
That was so blest to be a sire to thee :
Thy happy mother is most blest of many,
Blessed thy sisters, if her wombe bare any ;
Both fortunate, and O thrice happy shee,
Whose too much blessed breasts gaue suck to thee !
If any wife with thy sweet bed be blest,
O, she is farre more happy than the rest !
If thou hast any, let my sport be sto'ne,
Or else let me be she, if thou hast none.

Here did she pause awhile, and then she sayd,
Be not oddurate to a silly mayd :
A flinty heart within a snowy brest,
Is like base mold lockt in a golden chest.
They say the eye's the index of the heart,
And shewes th' affection of eche inward part :
There loue plays liuely, there the little god
Hath a cleare cristall palace of abode.
O, barre him not from playing in thy heart,
That sports himselfe vpon eche outward part !
Thus much she spake, and then her tongue was husht.
At her loose speech Hermaphroditus blusht :
He knew not what loue was, yet loue did shame him,
Making him blush, and yet his blush became him.
Then might a man his shamefast colour see,
Like the ripe apple on the sunny tree,
Or iuory dide o're with a pleasing red,
Or like the pale Moone being shadowed.

By this, the Nymph recouer'd had her tongue,
That to her thinking lay in silence long,
And sayd, Thy cheeke is milde, O be thou so !
Thy cheeke, saith I, then do not answere no :
Thy cheeke doth shame, then doe thou shame, she sayd :
It is a mans shame to deny a mayd.
Thou look'st to sport with Venus in her towre,
And be belou'd of euery heauenly powre.

Men are but mortals, so are women too,
Why should your thoughts aspire more then ours doo?
For sure they doe aspire; else could a youthe,
Whose count'nance is so full of spotlesse truth,
Be so relentlesse to a virgin's tongue?
Let me be woo'd by thee but halfe so long,
With halfe those tearmes doe but my loue require,
And I will easly graunt thee thy desire.
Ages are bad when men become so slow,
That poore vnskilfull mayds are forc't to woo.

Her radiant beauty and her subtill arte
So deeply strooke Hermaphroditus heart,
That she had wonne his loue, but that the light
Of her translucent eyes did shine too bright:
For long he look'd vpon the louely mayd,
And at the last Hermaphroditus sayd,
How should I loue thee, when I doe espie
A farre more beauteous Nymph hid in thy eye?
When thou doost loue, let not that Nymph be nie thee;
Nor when thou woo'st, let that same Nymph be by thee;
Or quite obscure her from thy louer's face,
Or hide her beauty in a darker place.
By this the Nymph perceiu'd he did espie
None but himselfe reflected in her eye,
And, for himselfe no more she meant to shew him,
She shut her eyes, & blind-fold thus did woo him.
Fayre boy, thinke not thy beauty can dispence
With any payne due to a bad offence:
Remember how the gods punisht that boy
That scorn'd to let a beauteous Nymph enioy
Her long wisht pleasure; for the peeuish elfe,
Lou'd of all others, needs would loue himselfe.
So mayst thou loue, perhaps thou mayst be blest,
By graunting to a lucklesse Nymph's request:
Then rest awhile with me amid these weeds.
The Sunne, that sees all, sees not louers deeds;

Pheebus is blind when loue-sports are begun,
And neuer sees vntill their sports be done.
Beleeue me, boy, thy blood is very stayd,
Thou art so loth to kisse a youthfull mayd.
Wert thou a mayd, and I a man, Ile show thee,
With what a manly boldnesse I could woo thee:
Fayrer then loues Queene, thus I would begin,
Might not my ouer boldnesse be a sinne,
I would intreat this fauour, if I could,
Thy rosiat cheeke a little to behold.
Then would I beg a touch, and then a kisse,
And then a lower, yet a higher blisse:
Then would I aske what Joue and Læda did,
When like a swan the craftie god was hid?
What came he for? why did he there abide?
Surely I thinke hee did not come to chide:
He came to see her face, to talke, and chat,
To touch, to kisse: came he for nought but that?
Yes, something else: what was it he would haue?
That which all men of maydens ought to craue.

This sayd, her eye lids wide she did display;
But in this space the boy was runne away:
The wanton speeches of the louely lasse
Forc't him for shame to hide him in the grasse.
When she perceiu'd she could not see him neere her,
When she had cal'd, and yet he could not heare her,
Looke how, when Autumne comes, a little space
Paleth the red blush of the Summer's face,
Tearing the leaues, the Summer's couering,
Three months in weauing by the curious spring,
Making the grasse, his greene locks, go to wracke,
Tearing each ornament from off his backe;
So did she spoyle the garments she did weare,
Tearing whole ounces of her golden hayre.
She, thus deluded of her longed blisse,
With much adoo at last she vtred this.

Why wert thou bashfull, boy? Thou hast no part
 Shewes thee to be of such a female heart.
 His eye is gray, so is the morning's eye,
 That blusheth alwayes when the day is nye.
 Then his gray eye's the cause: that cannot be;
 The gray-ey'd morne is farre more bold then he,
 For with a gentle dew from heauen's bright towre,
 It gets the mayden-head of eu'ry flowre.
 I would to God, he were the rosiat morne,
 And I a flowre from out the earthe new borne!
 His face was smooth; Narcissus face was so,
 And he was carelesse of a sad Nymph's woe.
 Then that's the cause; and yet that cannot be:
 Youthfull Narcissus was more bold then he,
 Because he dide for loue, though of his shade:
 This boy nor loues himselfe, nor yet a mayd.
 Besides, his glorious eye is wondrous bright:
 So is the fierie and all-seeing light
 Of Phœbus, who at eu'ry morning's birth
 Blushing for shame vpon the sullen earth.
 Then that's the cause; and yet that cannot be:
 The fierie Sunne is farre more bold then he;
 He nightly kisseth Thætis in the sea:
 All know the story of Leucothoe.
 His cheeke is red; so is the fragrant rose,
 Whose ruddie cheeke with ouer-blessing gloes:
 Then that's the cause; and yet that cannot bee:
 Eche blushing rose is farre more bold then he,
 Whose boldnesse may be plainely seene in this,
 The ruddy rose is not asham'd to kisse;
 For alwayes, when the day is new begun,
 The spreading rose will kisse the morning Sun.

This sayd, hid in the grasse she did espie him,
 And stumbling with her will, she fel down by him,
 And with her wanton talke, because he woo'd not,
 Beg'd that, which he, poore nouice, vnderstood not,

And, for she could not get a greater blisse,
She did intreat at least a sister's kisse;
But still the more she did the boy beseech,
The more he powted at her wanton speech.
At last the Nymph began to touch his skin,
Whiter then mountaine snow hath euer bin,
And did in purenesse that cleare spring surpasses,
Wherein Actæon saw th' Arcadian lasse.
Thus did she dally long, till at the last,
In her moyst palme she lockt his white hand fast:
Then in her hand his wrest she 'gan to close,
When through his pulses strait the warme bloud gloes,
Whose youthfull musicke, fanning Cupid's fire,
In her warme brest kindled a fresh desire.
Then did she lift her hand vnto his brest,
A part as white and youthfull as the rest,
Where, as his flowry breath still comes and goes,
She felt his gentle heart pant through his clothes.

At last she tooke her hand from off that part,
And sayd, It panted like another's heart:
Why should it be more feeble, and lesse bold?
Why should the bloud about it be more cold?
Nay sure, that yeelds; onely thy tongue denyes,
And the true fancy of thy heart belyes.
Then did she lift her hand vnto his chin:
And prays'd the prety dimpling of his skin;
But straight his chin she 'gan to ouerslip,
When she beheld the rednesse of his lip;
And sayd, thy lips are soft, presse them to mine
And thou shalt see they are as soft as thine.
Then would she faine haue gone vnto his eye,
But still his ruddy lip standing so nie,
Drew her hand backe, therefore his eye she mist,
'Ginning to claspe his necke, and would haue kist;
But then the boy did struggle to be gone,
Vowing to leaue her and that place alone.

But then bright Salmacis began to feare,
And sayd, Fayre Stranger, I will leaue thee here
Amid these pleasant places all alone.
So, turning back, she fayned to be gone;
But from his sight she had no power to passe,
Therefore she turn'd, and hid her in the grasse,
When to the ground bending her snow-white knee,
The glad earth gave new coates to euery tree.

He then supposing he was all alone,
(Like a young boy that is espy'd of none)
Runnes here, and there, then on the bankes doth looke,
Then on the cristall current of the brooke,
Then with his foote he toucht the siluer streames,
Whose drowzy waves made musike in their dreames,
And, for he was not wholly in, did weepe,
Talking alowd and babbling in their sleepe:
Whose pleasant coolenesse when the boy did feele,
He thrust his foote downe lower to the heele;
O'recome with whose sweet noyse, he did begin
To strip his soft clothes from his tender skin,
When straight the scorching Sun wept teares of brine,
Because he durst not touch him with his shine,
For feare of spoyling that same iu'ry skin,
Whose whitenesse he so much delighted in:
And then the Moone, mother of mortale ease,
Would fayne have come from the Antipodes,
To haue beheld him naked as he stood,
Ready to leape into the siluer flood,
But might not; for the lawes of heauen deny,
To shew men's secrets to a woman's eye;
And therefore was her sad and gloomy light
Confin'd vnto the secret-keeping night.

When beauteous Salmacis awhile had gaz'd
Vpon his naked corps, she stood amaz'd,
And both her sparking eyes burnt in her face,
Like the bright Sunne reflected in a glasse.

Scarce can she stay from running to the boy,
Scarce can she now deferre her hoped ioy;
So fast her youthfull bloud playes in her vaynes,
That almost mad, she scarce her selfe contaynes,
When young Hermaphroditus as he stands,
Clapping his white side with his hollow hands,
Leapt liuely from the land, whereon he stood,
Into the mayne part of the cristall flood:
Like iu'ry then his snowy body was,
Or a white Lilly in a cristall glasse.

Then rose the water-Nymph from where she lay,
As hauing wonne the glory of the day,
And her light garments casts from off her skin.
Hee's mine, she cry'd, and so leapt spritely in.
The flattering iuy who did euer see
Inclaspe the huge trunke of an aged tree,
Let him behold the young boy as he stands,
Inclasp in wanton Salmacis's hands:
Betwixt those iu'ry armes she lockt him fast,
Striuing to get away, till at the last,
Fondling, she sayd, why striu'st thou to be gone?
Why shouldst thou so desire to be alone?
Thy cheeke is neuer faire when none is by;
For what is red and white, but to the eye?
And for that cause the heauens are darke at night,
Because all creatures close their weary sight;
For there's no mortall can so earely rise,
But still the morning waytes vpon his eyes.
The earely-rising and soone-singing larke
Can neuer chaunt her sweete notes in the darke;
For sleepe she ne're so little or so long,
Yet still the morning will attend her song.
All creatures that beneath bright Cinthia be,
Haue appetite vnto society:
The ouerflowing waues would haue a bound
Within the confines of the spacious ground,

And all their shady currents would be plaste
 In hollow of the solitary vaste,
 But that they lothe to let their soft streames sing,
 Where none can heare their gentle murmuring.
 Yet still the boy, regardlesse what she sayd,
 Struggled apace to ouerswimme the mayd;
 Which when the Nymph perceiu'd, she 'gan to say,
 Struggle thou mayst, but neuer get away.
 So graunt, iust gods, that neuer day may see
 The separation twixt this boy and mee.

The gods did heare her pray'r and feele her woe;
 And in one body they began to grow.
 She felt his youthfull bloud in euery vaine,
 And she felt hers warme his cold brest againe;
 And euer since was woman's loue so blest,
 That it draw bloud from the strongest brest.
 Nor man nor mayd now could they be esteem'd:
 Neither, and either, might they well be deem'd,
 When the young boy Hermaphroditus sayd,
 With the set voice of neither man nor mayd,
 Swift Mercury, thou author of my life,
 And thou my mother, Vulcan's louely wife,
 Let your poore offsprings latest breath be blest,
 In but obtayning this his last request.
 Grant that who e're, heated by Phœbus beames
 Shall come to coole him in these siluer streames,
 May neuermore a manly shape retaine,
 But halfe a virgine may returne againe.

His parents hark'ned to his last request,
 And with that great power they the fountaine blest;
 And since that time who in that fountaine swimmes,
 A mayden smoothnesse seyzeth halfe his limmes.

FINIS.

ART. XIV.—*The new Fact regarding Shakespeare and his Wife, contained in the Will of Thomas Whittington.*

I wish to offer a few remarks on the new fact regarding Shakespeare and his wife, recently discovered at Worcester, and transmitted not long since by Sir Thomas Phillipps to the Society of Antiquaries.

It is contained in the will of a person of the name of Thomas Whittington, of Shotton, in the county of Warwick, husbandman, in the following words:—

“Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor people of Stratford, forty shillings, that is in the hand of Anne Shaxspere, wife unto Mr. William Shaxspere, and is debt due unto me, being paid to mine Executor by the said William Shaxspere, or his assigns, according to the true meaning of this my will.”

This is the whole that relates to our great poet, and what does it seem to show? It is a question upon which Sir Thomas Phillipps has not touched in his brief communication, and it is a deficiency I shall endeavour briefly to supply.

May we not fairly gather, from the words of Whittington's will, (which bears date 25th March, 1601) that Shakespeare was then in London—that, at all events, he was absent from Stratford or the testator would not have said that the money was “in the hand of Anne Shakespeare,” but in that of William Shakespeare, her husband: it was due from him as a “debt,” because it had been borrowed by his wife, probably to supply some temporary emergency at a period when she could not conveniently apply to her husband, who was at a distance of more than a hundred miles. The end of March was not long before the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players

usually removed from the Blackfriars theatre, where they performed in the winter, to the Globe, on the Bankside, where they usually acted from the middle of April until late in the autumn. Dr. Simon Forman saw "Macbeth" acted "at the Globe, 1610, the 20th of April," which, we apprehend, was soon after it opened for what we now call "the season."

The 25th of March, 1601, was the first day of the new legal year, for the historical year 1601 commenced on 1st January preceding. Whittington's will was no doubt drawn by a scrivener of Stratford, who observed the division of the legal year, and it was rather less than six months anterior to the death of our poet's father. Shakespeare had bought "New Place," (the house built by the Cloptons in the reign of Henry VIII.) in or about 1597, and there his wife Anne was doubtless living in March, 1601, the date when she owed £2 to Thomas Whittington. That sum was then equal, it is supposed, to about £10 of our present money; and having some claim made upon her, which she could not discharge by instantly resorting to her husband, she perhaps supplied her immediate necessity by obtaining the money from the testator. This may have been the mode in which the "debt" was contracted, which we may presume was fully discharged when our great dramatist made his next visit to his native town, if not before.

When Thomas Whittington died is not stated by Sir Thomas Phillipps, but probably the entry of his burial may be found in the registers of Stratford. He was "of Shottery," as we are told in his will, and Shottery was the place from which Shakespeare's wife, Anne Hathaway, perhaps had originally come before she settled at Stratford, and where some members of her family had long resided. Two Hathaways, it will be seen presently, are mentioned in Whittington's will, although the circumstance does not appear to have attracted the attention it deserves. It may seem to render it likely that Anne Hathaway had come from Shottery, when we find her many

years afterwards applying to a person in that place for an advance of money, in the absence of her husband, but the two Hathaways in Whittington's will were "of Old Stratford."

We may presume that Shakespeare was very much occupied at the end of March, 1601, in superintending the getting up and rehearsal of a new play, for the opening of the Globe theatre in the middle of the coming month.

The two Hathaways, of whom we hear in Whittington's will, are Thomas and Margaret: the testator left 12^d to "Thomas Hathaway sonne to the late Margret Hathway" (so the name is in the last instance spelt): they are stated to be of Old Stratford, and not of Shottery, which might lead to the supposition that Anne Hathaway, the wife of Shakespeare, was also of Old Stratford: in the marriage bond of Richardson and Sandells she is stated to be "of Stratford." My conjecture, when I wrote the Life of Shakespeare, was that, although her family resided at Shottery, she was in some way settled at Stratford anterior to her marriage. She may, however, have been one of the Hathaways of Old Stratford, the sister of Thomas, and daughter of "the late Margret Hathway," and therefore described in the preliminary marriage bond as "of Stratford." Henslowe's Diary establishes that there was a Richard Hathaway, a dramatist, contemporary with Shakespeare, and there is at least nothing to show that he was not related to Shakespeare's wife: he had the same Christian name as her father.

Another circumstance in the will of Thomas Whittington merits a passing notice; it relates to the family of Heminge, or Hemyngs, of which we conjecture that John Heminge (the joint-editor with Henry Condell of the folio of Shakespeare's Works in 1623) was a member. There is a bequest of two shillings to "Jone Hemyngs the elder," and of 4^d to "Margaret Hemyng," (omitting the s) without stating where they resided. Now, we know that a John and a Richard Heminge were settled at Shottery anterior to the year 1567, and to this

family Jone and Margaret Hemyngs, or Hemyng, may have belonged. Of course, such small bequests as two shillings, and fourpence, were only intended by the testator as "memorials of his love." I feel very little doubt that John Heminge, the actor in Shakespeare's plays, was of this family; and that, like several other members of the company of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, he came from Stratford or its neighbourhood.

We are much indebted to Sir Thomas Phillipps for the discovery of this new fact, however minute or apparently unimportant taken by itself. We are to bear in mind (a circumstance with which I was not before acquainted) that he was the first finder at Worcester of the bond given by Richardson and Sandells anterior to the marriage of Shakespeare; and it is to be earnestly hoped that his researches in the same and other quarters will hereafter be equally successful. His name is now indissolubly connected with the biography of our great dramatist.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Kensington, 10 May, 1847.

ART. XV.—*Conjectures on some of the Corrupt or Obscure Passages of Shakespeare.*

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

ACT V., SCENE 5.

“*Enter* SIR HUGH EVANS, *like a satyr*; MRS. QUICKLY and PISTOL; ANNE PAGE, *as the Fairy Queen*, &c.

“*Queen*. Fairies, black, grey, green, and white,” &c.

Thus Mr. Collier commences this scene. “At the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Harness,” (he says in a note) “I have no difficulty in assigning this and other speeches to the Fairy Queen, or Anne Page, so disguised: they are quite out of character with Mrs. Quickly, to whom they have hitherto been given. The prefix in the old copies [4to. 1630 and folios] is *Qu.* and *Qui.*; but it was an easy error of the press, and much more probably so, than that such a part should have been entrusted to Mrs. Quickly.”

This is very true, and Mr. Harness’s conjecture is very ingenious; but in the 4tos. 1602 and 1619, the stage-direction is “Mistresse Quickly, like the Queene of the Fayries,” and the prefixes are all *Qui.* *Quic.* or *Quick.* There is no authority in any copy for the stage-direction, “Anne page as the Fairy Queen,” &c.; the 4to., 1630, and folios reading only, “Enter Falstaff, Mistris Page, Mistris Ford, Evans, Anne page, Fairies, Page, Ford, Quickly,” &c. Both Mrs. Page and Fenton, in preceding scenes, in the latest 4to., and in the folio editions, have informed us that Anne Page was to present the Fairy Queen; but we find Mrs. Quickly acting that part, both in the folios and the 4tos. The part of Queen was too prominent a one for Anne to play that night, and would have betrayed her voice to both Slender and Caius.

COMEDY OF ERRORS.

ACT I., SCENE 2.

"I to the world am like a drop of water,
That in the ocean seeks another drop ;
Who, *falling* there to find his fellow forth,
Unseen, inquisitive, confounds himself."

"Falling to find" is a very awkward expression. I would read *failing*. The argument requires some word to show that the drop did not find his fellow ; and it had already been said that the drop fell, by the words, "in the ocean seeks." Now the only question is, whether the drop succeeded or failed.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

ACT III., SCENE 4.

Beatrice. Heigh ho !

Margaret. For a hawk, a horse, or a husband ?

Beatrice. For the letter that begins them all, H.

Enough there is, and more than enough, of contemporary literary illustration of Shakespeare ; but it is surprising that the following passage has hitherto escaped all the commentators—

"*Dolor intimus*."

"Nor hawk, nor hound, nor horse, those letters *hhh*,
But *ach* itself, 'tis Brutus' bones attaches."

Wit's Recreations, 1640.

Although this collection of Epigrams was not published till 1640, yet its contents are both old and new. Many of them doubtless had been in vogue before the date of this play.

MERCHANT OF VENICE.

ACT IV., SCENE 1.

“Thou wilt not only *lose* the forfeiture.”

“The old copies” (says Mr. Collier) “have *loose* the forfeiture; and perhaps we ought to take *loose* in the sense of *release*.”

Certainly. *Loose* is right. It is a bond; and *to loose* is the correlative of *to bind*. See Matt. xvi., 19. But *lose* and *loose* are the same word, and both are generally printed in the old editions *loose*. For instance, in this very play, act i., sc. 1—

“You have too much respect upon the world;
They lose it that do buy it with much care,”

the word is spelt *loose*, and so Malone printed it, in his first edition.

AS YOU LIKE IT.

ACT III., SCENE 4.

“*Rosalind*. And his kissing is as full of sanctity as the touch of *holy bread*.”

Bishop Warburton would read *beard*, because” (he says) “the present comparison is impious; and the Rev. Mr. Barry also understands by *holy bread* the sacramental bread. It is strange that these reverend gentlemen should have been so ill-read in Church History, as not to know what holy bread was. Sacramental bread, in these times, would have been called a great deal more than *holy bread*, and would never have been profaned by Shakespeare. *Rosalind* is guilty of no impiety. Holy bread was merely one of the “ceremonies” which King Henry VIIIth’s Articles of Religion pronounced good and lawful, having mystical significations in them. “Such” (he

says) "were the vestments in the worship of God, sprinkling holy water, to put us in mind of our baptism and the blood of Christ; *giving holy bread*, in sign of our union to Christ; burning candles on Candlemas Day," &c. Another of these Articles declared that in the sacrament of the Altar, under the form of bread and wine, there was truly and substantially the body of Christ.

ACT IV., SCENE 2.

"Song.

"What shall he have that kill'd the deer?
His leather skin and horns to wear.
Then sing him home, the rest shall bear this burthen:
Take thou no scorn to wear the horn,
It was a crest ere thou wert born.
Thy father's father wore it,
And thy father bore it.
The horn, the horn, the lusty horn,
Is not a thing to laugh to scorn."

I have given this song precisely as it stands in the original copies. The third line is evidently pregnant with some corruption, and the question is, with what? The commentators cut the line short with the words "Then sing him home!" and treat the rest as a marginal direction to the next two lines, for the burthen. Mr. Collier gives the whole line as a marginal direction, and brackets all the rest of the song as the burthen. Out of eight lines, surely six are too many for burthen. The former commentators have marked the song as a duet, and the two couplets rhyming on *horn* as a chorus; and so Dr. Arne set it for the theatres, as it is now sung.

I cannot help thinking that this third line, as far as

"Then sing him home: the rest shall bear,"

is part of the song. It scans; it rhymes; it is to the purpose

just declared by Jaques: "Let's *present* him to the Duke, like a Roman conqueror; and it would do well to set the deer's horns upon his head, for a branch of victory."

"His leather skin and horns to wear:
Men sing him home, the rest shall bear."

It will now be asked me, what I do with the words "this burthen"? I answer, They alone should be the marginal note; and

"Take thou no scorn to wear the horn;
It was a crest ere thou wert born,"
is the burthen.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

ACT I., SCENE 3.

"*Clown.* Though honesty be no puritan, yet it will do no hurt: it will wear the surplice of humility over the black gown of a big heart."

"The Puritans" (says Mr. Collier) "objected to the use of the surplice, but some conformed so far as to wear it, perhaps, over the black gown in which they usually preached."

I can find no authority in the histories of nonconformity for this unworthy evasion. In those times, the clergy always wore their gowns, even in the streets, and the *surplice* was therefore necessarily put over them when it was worn: it had its name hence. Such a compliance as this, the Puritans would have considered as complete conformity; and the humiliating surplice was thus doubtless often worn over the black gown of a swelling heart.

ACT II., SCENE 1.

“*Helen*. Oft expectation fails ; and most oft there
Where most it promises ; and oft it hits
Where hope is coldest, and despair most *sits*.”

The old copies read *shifts*, which Pope very happily altered to *sits*. Mr. Collier, finding, in Lord Francis Egerton's first folio, a contemporary alteration in manuscript to *fits*, adopts that reading, and fortifies it by an authority in Shakespeare's Sonnet cxx. The word *sit*, in both passages, would have equally the meaning of *fits*, or *befits*, and is more the language of the times. See Mr. G. Mason's note to his edition of Hoccleve's Poems, p. 104.

THE WINTER'S TALE.

ACT II., SCENE 3.

“*Leontes*. ——— for the harlot king
Is quite beyond mine *arm*, out of the blank
And level of my brain.”

Both Johnson and Douce explain *blank* and *level*, in gunnery, by the word *aim*, without perceiving that the word *arm* here is a misprint for that word. So in “All's Well that ends Well,” ii., 1—

“I am not an impostor, that proclaim
Myself against the level of my aim.”

And in “A Lover's Complaint”—

“That not a heart which in his level came
Could scape the hail of his all-hurting aim.”

We have *arm* also for *aim*, in “Troilus and Cressida,” act v., scene 7, and “Hamlet,” act iv., scene 7, as pointed out by

Mr. Collier; and in "Troilus and Cressida," act ii., scene 3, and II. "Henry VI.," act iv., scene 9, as indicated by Mr. Dyce. At the close of the second act of "King John," I also agree with Mr. M. Mason that the word *aid* should be *aim*.

KING JOHN.

ACT III., SCENE 1.

"*Constance*. O Lewis, stand fast! the Devil tempts thee here,
In likeness of a new *untrimmed* bride."

Mr. Collier says: "A misprint may be suspected here. Theobald reads '*and* trimmed bride,' in reference to Blanche's adornments." I should have said, there can be no doubt that *trimmed* is right. Lord Chedworth had already confirmed this reading by the quotation from Sternhold and Hopkins, psalm xix:—

"In them the Lord made for the Sun
A place of great renown;
Who, like a bridegroom ready *trimm'd*,
Comes from his chamber down,"

and from "Romeo and Juliet," act iv., scene 4:—

"Go, waken Juliet: go and *trim* her up."

And Mr. Edwards, by the quotation from I. "Henry IV.," act i., scene 3:—

"—— a certain lord, neat, *trimly* drest,
Fresh as a bridegroom."

But Dr. Richardson, in his excellent Dictionary, says that *untrimmed*, in this passage, is only a corruption of *entrimmed*, as *unrip* is of *enrip*. Mr. Dyce, in his "Remarks," does not advert to Richardson, although he generally quotes that lexi-

cographer's authority; but cites a passage in favour of *untrimmed* here, in a sense, which, after what has occurred at p. 37 of his book, I am afraid to say, gives a wrong reading. There is no doubt, from the passage cited by Mr. Dyce, and from another loose song in Heywood's "Rape of Lucrece," act i., scene 3, that the verb *to trim* was used in such a sense; but I must think it was then always a canting word, just as we employ the word *to dress* in the sense of *to chastise*. It cannot be supposed that the Lady Constance would use the word in a wanton sense; and in any other, *untrimmed* would bear the same meaning that it does in the following passage from the poet's 18th sonnet, namely *undecorated*, whereas the argument here would require *decorated*:—

"And ev'ry fair from fair sometime declines,
By chance, or nature's changing course, untrimm'd."

ACT IV., SCENE 1.

"And like a dog, that is compell'd to fight,
Snatch at his master, that doth *tarre* him on."

Dr. Johnson is very learned in his etymology of the verb *to tarre*; but Mr. Collier says that it would seem to have been coined from the imitative sound made in provoking dogs to fight.

"Wisdom is oftentimes nearer when we stoop,
Than when we soar."

I believe that this is the simple truth of the matter, after all this learning. Ben Jonson, who was as learned a Johnson as any that ever bore the name, says, in what Horne Tooke calls the first and best English Grammar, that "rr" is "an *interjection* that serveth to set dogs together by the ears." The dog doubtless originated the snarling word. In Nash's

“Summer’s Last Will and Testament,”¹ we have the verb *arre*.

“They *arre* and bark at night against the moon.”

SECOND PART OF KING HENRY IV.

ACT IV., SCENE 1.

“*Archbishop*. My brother general, the commonwealth,
To brother born an household cruelty
I make my quarrel in particular.”

Mr. Collier says, “The second line of this speech is omitted in the folio, and is restored from the quarto. The whole is obscure; but Malone, following Monck Mason, thus explains the probable intention of the author:—‘My brother-general, who is joined here with me in command, makes the commonwealth his quarrel, i.e., has taken up arms on account of public grievances: a particular injury done to my own brother is my ground of quarrel.’”

I am not at all satisfied with this explanation. Although the Archbishop had placed himself at the head of a rebellion, he would never have called himself a general officer. I would read: “My general brother being the commonwealth, I make my particular quarrel a household cruelty done to my born brother.” The word *general* is used in the same sense as it is in the phrase “caviare to the general,” in “Hamlet,” act ii., scene 2, &c.

ACT IV., SCENE 1.

“*Archbishop*. Then take, my lord of Westmoreland,
this schedule,
For this contains our general grievances:

¹ Dodsley’s Old Plays, ix., 37.

Each sev'ral article herein redress'd ;
 All members of our cause, both here and hence,
 That are insinew'd to this action
 Acquitted by a true substantial form ;
 And present execution of our wills,
 To us and to our purposes *confind* ;
 We come within our awful banks again,
 And knit our powers to the arm of peace."

Mr. Collier says :—" So both the quarto and folio editions ; and there is no need of alteration, though Johnson proposed *consign'd* ; and it has found its way into all the modern editions : the meaning is, ' the execution of our wills being confined, or restricted, to us and to our purposes.' "

" A very modest kind of restriction, truly !" says Warburton ; " only as extensive as their appetites and passions ; " and he proposes to change the word *purposes* to *properties*.

I would, without any alteration, understand—" Acquitted by a true substantial form, and present execution thereof, we of our free wills (confined to ourselves and our own purposes) will come within our terrible [or perhaps lawful] banks again."

ACT V., SCENE 2.

" *Chief Justice*. Sweet princes, what I did I did in honour,
 Led by th' impartial conduct of my soul,
 And never shall you see that I will beg
 A ragged and forestall'd remission."

Mr. Collier says :—" Both *ragged* and *forestalled* are rather puzzling epithets, as applied to " remission," which of course is *pardon*. By *ragged* Johnson understands *poor* and *base*, and *forestall'd* perhaps means anticipated by the King before it is asked."

I believe that it was a custom in those times for courtiers to

beg of the King a pardon for an offence, political or moral, before the offender should be impeached or arraigned; and this may very well be called “a forestall’d remission.”

KING HENRY THE FIFTH.

ACT IV., SCENE 7.

“*King Henry.* How now? what means this, Herald? know’st thou not
That I have *fin’d* these bones of mine for ransom?
Com’st thou again for ransom?”

Lord Chedworth says:—“This expression of *fining the bones for ransom* I do not understand. None of the commentators attempt to explain it, probably because they thought it too plain to need explanation.”

I think the expression *fin’d* is so peculiar, that the commentators who have written subsequently to Lord Chedworth’s publication should have condescended to refer to the following previous speech of the King:—

“Bid them atchieve me, and then sell my bones.

* * * * * Herald! save thy labour:

Come thou no more for ransom, gentle Herald!

They shall have none, I swear, but these my joints,

Which, if they have, as I will leave ’em them, [i.e., *fin’d*]

Shall yield them little.”

ACT V., SCENE 2.

Dr. Johnson objects to the part the King plays throughout this scene, as inconsistent with Shakespeare’s representation of his princely accomplishments, and with the Dauphin’s opinion of him in this play; and he adds that “the poet’s matter failed him in the fifth act, and he was glad to fill it up with whatever he could get, and not even Shakespeare can write well without a proper subject.” So far in natural English. Now to say

the same thing upon the high horse of style: "It is a vain endeavour for the most skilful hand to cultivate barrenness, or to paint upon vacuity."

I cannot write like this; but I am humbly of opinion that Shakespeare thus represented King Harry advisedly. The King thought it necessary to prove his reformation, by reversing his former character, (as convertites are apt to do) and to act the rough and blunt English soldier to the extreme. See his speech before the gates of Harfleur, act iii., scene 3:—

"——— as I am a soldier,
A name that, in my thoughts, becomes me best,"

and then he imputes (doubtless for the purpose of intimidating the French) the most savage wantonness to that *best-becoming name*. So, too, his extravagant abuse of his own person and accomplishment, in this scene, is purposely over-acted. There is a genuine English nature about the monarch; and the French parents of his bride are made to enter into it very heartily. "We have here" (says the great classical critic) "but a mean dialogue for princes: the merriment is very gross, and the sentiments are very worthless." I suspect that princes and princesses make love much like other people; and I cannot admit that scene to be barren or vacuous, which contains such a touch of nature as, "I know thou lovest me, and at night, when you come into your closet, you'll question this gentlewoman about me; and, I know, Kate, you will, to her, dispraise those parts in me that you love with your heart;" and such a touch of poetry as

"O, Kate! nice customs curt'sy to great kings."

The only falsity of this scene is making the royal bride speak French to her bridegroom through an interpreter, while all the rest of her family speak English; but that was doubtless done to heighten, with the audience, the anti-gallican character of the popular monarch.

BARRON FIELD.

ART. XVI.—*Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis," and Lodge's "Scilla's Metamorphosis."*

In Mr. Collier's "Life of Shakespeare," prefixed to his edition, 8 vols., 8vo., 1844, I find this passage in reference to "Venus and Adonis."—"The poem was quite new in its class, being founded upon no model, either ancient or modern: nothing like it had been attempted before, and nothing comparable to it was produced afterwards. Thus in 1593 he (Shakespeare) might call it, in the dedication to Lord Southampton, 'the first heir of his invention' in a double sense, not merely because it was the first printed, but because it was the first written of his productions."

In this view I entirely concur, as well as in the observations and facts contained in the note appended to the passage. If "Venus and Adonis" were composed, as we may well imagine, before Shakespeare quitted Stratford-upon-Avon in 1586 or 1587, it preceded the various works of the same class, written by contemporaries. I take it, that, like his "sugred sonnets" mentioned by Meres in 1598, "Venus and Adonis" had been handed about in manuscript among his friends; and the great probability is that Thomas Lodge had seen it before he wrote his "Scillae's Metamorphosis, interlaced with the unfortunate love of Glaucus," which was published in 1589. Lodge's poem is written in the same stanza, and in various other points seems to adopt "Venus and Adonis" as a model: nay, near the commencement of it, the author actually adverts to the same incidents, and in terms which read exactly as if he had endeavoured to adopt the same style: e. g.

"Hee that hath seene the sweete Arcadian boy

Wiping the purple from his forced wound,

His pretie teares betokening his annoy,
 His sighes, his cries, his falling on the ground,
 The ecchoes ringing from the rockes his fall,
 The trees with teares reporting of his thrall;

“ And Venus, starting at her love-mates crie,
 Forcing her birds to hast her chariot on,
 And full of griefe, at last with piteous eie
 Seene where, all pale with death, he lay alone,
 Whose beautie quaild, as wont the lillies droop,
 When wastfull winter windes doe make them stoop :

“ Her daintie hand addrest to dawne her deere,
 Her roseall lip alied to his pale cheeke,
 Her sighes, and then her lookes and heavie cheere,
 Her bitter threates, and then her passions meeke ;
 How on his senseles corpes she lay a crying,
 As if the boy were then but new a dying,” &c.

It is not to be disputed that the poem, from which this quotation is taken, was printed four years before “ Venus and Adonis ” made its appearance ; but there seems as little doubt that the last was composed, perhaps, as long before the first was written : Lodge having had an opportunity, like many others, of seeing “ Venus and Adonis ” in manuscript, followed the example in “ Scillae’s Metamorphosis,” and made the preceding allusion to it.

Bibliographers inform us that “ Scillae’s Metamorphosis,” having originally come out in 1589, was reprinted in 1610. This is a mistake, owing to the writers not having been able to see both editions: the only novelty in the copies of 1610 is the title-page, which runs thus:—

“ A most pleasant Historie of Glaucus and Scilla. With many excellent Poems, and delectable Sonnets.—Imprinted at London. 1610.”

It was only a repetition of the ordinary bookseller's contrivance to sell off copies remaining on hand, under the pretext that the work was an entirely new impression: all, excepting the title, is precisely like the edition of 1589, even to the most minute particular of defective typography. This fact establishes that Lodge's "Scillae's Metamorphosis" was anything but successful: all the copies of the impression of 1589 were not sold even as late as 1610, while of Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis" four distinct reprints, two in 4to. and two in 8vo., had been made between 1593, when it first appeared, and the year 1600.

Before I quit Lodge's poem, I may notice a curious point in it, which has hitherto escaped observation. It is ascertained that, although he strenuously defended dramatic poetry and the stage from Stephen Gosson's attack in his "School of Abuse," 1579,¹ Lodge early abandoned the profession both as an author and as an actor: two dramas, one by him alone, and the other by him and Robert Greene, were published in 1594, but at what date they were written has not been ascertained. "Scillae's Metamorphosis" affords curious proof that Lodge had relinquished theatrical composition as early as 1589, for at the close of that poem we meet with the subsequent stanza: the writer is speaking of Glaucus.

"At last he left me where at first he found me,
Willing me let the world and ladies knowe
Of Scillas pride; and then by oath he bound me
To write no more of that whence shame doth grow,
Or tie my pen to Pennie-knaves delight,
But live with fame, and so for fame to wright."

At that date, and as Gosson and Northbrooke² had con-

¹ Reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1841.

² In his "Treatise against Plays, Interludes," &c., reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1843.

tended, "shame" grew from dramatic composition, and Glaucus enjoined Lodge to write no more of it. "Penny-knaves" is a contemptuous term for penny auditors, admitted into some parts of our old theatres at that price. Though Lodge wrote many works after 1589, he seems to have kept his word, and never again touched matters in any way connected with the stage.

The drama written by Greene and Lodge, probably in concert, is called "A Looking Glass for London and England;" and although it was first printed in 1594, we may be now sure that it was composed at least five years earlier; which will afford a useful note to the Rev. Mr. Dyce's reprint of it in his edition of "The Dramatic Works of Robert Greene," 2 vols., 8vo., 1831: he has not touched upon the period of the composition of the play.

JAMES P. REARDON.

London, January 7th, 1846.

ART. XVII.—*An unknown edition of the Interlude of "Every Man," printed by Pynson.*

Not very long before his death, the late Mr. Douce, author of the "Illustrations of Shakespeare," &c., gave me an opportunity of transcribing a very curious dramatic fragment in his possession, which, I presume, with his other books and MSS., is now at Oxford. It consists of large portions of the last eight pages of the interlude of "Every Man," from the press of Pynson; and it is the more valuable, because no more complete copy by Pynson appears to be known. Herbert was aware of the fragment, but, notwithstanding his authority, Dr. Dibdin, in his "Typographical Antiquities," ii., 565, says, "The existence of any play printed by Wynkyn de Worde, or Pynson, may be doubtful." As to Wynkyn de Worde, an entire drama, with his colophon, is contained in vol. 12 of the last edition of "Dodsley's Old Plays;" and as to Pynson, it is equally indisputable that he printed a "play," because his colophon is fortunately preserved, in the following words, at the end of Mr. Douce's fragment—

"Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the Sygne of the George by Rycharde Pynson prynter vnto the Kynges noble grace."

The "moral play" of "Every Man," from one of Skot's editions, is contained in vol. i. of Hawkins's "Origin of the English Drama," but the editor says nothing of any impression by Pynson: it is evident that he was unacquainted with the fact; and, indeed, did not know that "Every Man" had been twice printed by Skot, once with his colophon, and once without it. This circumstance is recorded in the hand-

writing of Mr. Douce upon his fragment in the following terms—

“There are two editions printed by John Skot, one of which has a colophon, the other not; both without dates.”

I happen to have had an opportunity of inspecting both the impressions put forth by Skot, and I subjoin the title-page of that with a colophon, because I have never yet seen it correctly given.

“Here begynneth a Treatyse how y^e hye fader of heuen sendeth Dethe to somon euery creature to come and gyue a counte of theyr lyues in this worlde, and is in maner of a morall playe.”

The colophon, at the end of the play, is precisely this—

“Imprynted at London, in Poules chyrche yarde, by me, Johñ Skot.”

The only copy of this edition I ever saw, is, or was, in the library of Lincoln Cathedral: the only copy I have seen of the other edition, by Skot, without his colophon, was sold in 1833, among Mr. Caldecot's books, for £32 10s. It was a distinct impression, and, among other differences, it may be noticed that there were six wood-cut figures of the *Dramatis Personæ* at the back of the title-page: on the last leaf was the printer's device, and merely his name, “John Skot.”

The exact period when “Every Man” came from Pynson's press cannot be ascertained, but his last dated work is 1531; so that there can be no doubt that “Every Man” is one of the very oldest printed dramas in our language: perhaps the only piece of the same kind that has higher claims, on the score of antiquity, is “The World and the Child,” printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1522; but Pynson may have printed his undated “Every Man” before that year: if so, the moral play of “Every Man” would be the oldest drama in our

language that has come down to us in a printed shape. Its value and curiosity in the most ancient impression cannot therefore be disputed, and on this account I send my exact transcript of Mr. Douce's fragment, marking with asterisks the places where the text is deficient. It is part of the last sheet E; so that it was preceded by four sheets, A, B, C, and D, which have probably for ever perished. What I have above said, and what follows, may call attention to it, and some member of the Society may possibly be able, on a future occasion, to furnish information on so interesting a question in reference to our early dramatic poetry—the very foundation of the School of Shakespeare.

Those who go through Shakespeare without a considerable acquaintance with the works of his predecessors, carrying their inquiries back even to the remotest period, are not likely to do him full justice, nor to read him with complete advantage.

DRAMATICUS.

29th March, 1847.

* * * * *

I desyre no more to my besynes.

Strengthe. And I strength wyll by you stande in distres
Though thou wold in battayll fyght on the groūde.

v wyttes. And though it were thorowe the world rounde
We wyll not departe for swete ne for soure.

Beaute. No more wyll I vnto dethes houre
What so euer therof befall.

Dyscrecyon. Every man aduyse you firste of all
Go with a good advysement and lyberacion
We all gyue you vertuous monysson
That all shall be well.

euery mā. My frendes, harke what I wyll tell
I praye god rewarde you in this heuenly spere
Nowe herken all that be here

For I wyll make my testament
 Here before you all present
 In almes half my good I wyll gyue w^t my hondes twayne
 In y^e way of charite w^t gode intent
 And the other halfe styll shall remayne
 I it bequethe to be returned there it ought to be
 This I do in desspyte of the fende of hell
 To go quyte oute of his perell
 Eeuer after and this daye.

knowlege. Euery man herke in what I saye
 Go to the preesthode I you advyse

* * * * *

That of god hath cōmyssyon
 As hath the lest preest in the worlde beynge
 For of the blessyd sacramentes pure and benygne
 He bereth the keyes and therof hath cure
 For mānes redempcion it is euer sure
 Whiche god for our soules medesyne
 Gaue us out of his herte with grete payne
 Here in this transytorye lyfe for the and me
 The blyssed sacramentes vij. there be
 Baptyme confirmacion with preesthode good
 And y^e sacrament of godes precious flesshe and blood
 Maryage, the holy extreme unccyon and penaūce
 These vij. be good to have in remembraunce,
 Gracious sacramentes of hye deuynyte.

euery mā. Fayne wolde I receyue that holy body
 And mekely to my gostely fader I wyll go.

v wyttes. Euery man, that is the best that ye can do
 God wyll you to saluacion brynge
 For preesthode exceedeth all other thyng
 To vs holy scriptue they do teche
 And conuerteth man fro synne heuen to reche
 God hath to them more power gyuen
 Than to ony aungell that is in heuen

With v. wordes he may concecrate
 Goddes body in flesshe and blode to take.

* * * * *

No remedy may we fynde under god
 But alone on preesthode
 Euery man, god gave preest that dignyte
 And letteth them in his steede amonge us be
 Thus be they aboue aungels in degree.

knowlege. If preestes be good it is so suerly
 But whā Jhesu henge on y^e crosse w^t grete smarte
 There gaue he vs out of his blessyd herte
 The same sacrament in grete torment
 He helde them not to that lorde omnypotent
 Therfore saynt peter the apostyll do say
 That Jhesus curse hath all they
 Whiche god theyr sauoure do bye or sell
 Or they for ony money do take or tell
 Synfull preestes geueth the synners example bad
 Their children sitteth by other mens fyres I haue herde
 And some haunteth womens company
 With unclene lyfe as lustes of lechery
 These be with synne made blynde.

v wyttes. I truste to god no suche may we fynde
 Therfore lette vs preesthode honoure
 And folowe theyr doctryne for ours soules socker
 We be theyr sheepe and they shepherdes be
 By whom we all be kepte in suerte.
 Passe for yonder I se euery man come.

* * * * *

And nowe frēdes let vs go without lenger respyte
 I thanke god that ye haue taryed so longe
 Nowe set eche of you on this rodde his honde
 And shortly folowe me
 I go before there I wolde be
 God be our guyde.

Strengthe. Euery man we wyll not fro you go
Tyll ye haue gone this vyage longe.

Dyscrecion. I discrecion wyll byde by you also.

knowleg. And though this pilgrimage be never so strōge
I wyll never parte you fro
Euery man I wyll be as sure by the
As euer I dyde by Judas machabee.

Euery mā. Alas I am so faynt I may not stonde
My lymmes under me do folde
Frendes let vs not turne agayne to this londe
Not for all the worldes golde
For in to this caue must I crepe.

Beautye. And torne to the erthe and there to slepe.

Euery mā. What in to this graue alas

Beautye. Ye there shall ye consume more and lesse.

Euery mā. And what sholde I smoder here
Ye by my fay and neuer more appere
In this worlde lyve no more we shall
But in heuen before the hiest lorde of all.

* * * * *

Beaute gothe faste awaye and hye
She promysed with me to lyve and dye.

Strength. Euery man I wyll the also forsake and denye
Thy game lyketh me not at all.

Euery mā. Why than ye wyll forsake me all
Swete Strength tary a lytell space.

Strength. Nay syr by the rode of grace
I wyll hye me fro the faste
Though thou wepe tyll thy herte to braste.

Euery mā. Ye wolde euer byde by me ye sayd.

Strength. Ye I haue you ferre ynough conueyd
Ye be olde ynough I vnderstonde
Your pylgrymage to take on honde
I repente me that I hether came.

Euery mā. Srength you to displease I am to blame.

Wyll ye breke promyse that is dette.

Strength. In faythe I care not
Thou arte but a foole to complayne

You spende your speche and waste your brayne
Go thirste the in to the grounde.

Euery mā. I had went surer I sholde haue founde
He that trusteth in his strength
She hym deceyueth at the length
Both strength and beaute forsaketh me
Yet they promysed me fayre and louyngly.

* * * * *

Euery mā. Yet I pray the for the loue of the trinyte
Loke in my graue ones petyously.

Dyscrecōn. Nay so nye I wyll not come
Forwell euerychone.

Euery mā. O all thyng fayleth saue god alone
Beaute strength and discrecion
For whan deth bloweth his blaste
They all ronne fro me faste.

v wyttes. Euery man of the nowe my leve I take
I wyll folowe the other for here I the forsake.

Euery mā. Alas than may I wayle and wepe
For I take you for my beste frende.

v wyttes. I wyll no lenger the kepe
Nowe forwell and there an ende.

Euery mā. O Jhesu helpe all hath forsaken me.

Good dedes. Nay euery man I wyll byde with the
I wyll not forsake the in dede
Thou shalte fynde me a good frende at nede.

Euery mā. Gramercy good dedes now may I true frēdes se
They haue forsake me euerychone
I loued them better than my good dedes alone
Knowlege wyll ye forsake me also?

Knowlege. Ye euery man whan you to deth do go

But not yet for no maner of daunger.

Euery mā. Gramercy knowlege with all my herte

* * * * *

Howe they that I loued best do forsake me

Excepte my good dedes that bydeth truely.

Good dedes. All erthly thynges is but vanyte

Beaute strength and discrecion do man forsake

Folysshe frendes and kynnes men that fayre spake

All fleeth saue good dedes and that am I.

Euery mā. Haue mercy on me god moste myghty

And stande by me thou moder and mayde holy mary.

Good dedes. Fere not I wyll speke for the.

Euery mā. Here I crye god mercy.

Good dedes. Shorte oure ende and mynysshe our payne

Lete vs go and neuer come agayne.

Euery mā. In to thy handes lordes my soule I comēde

Receyue it lorde that it be not loste

As thou me broughtest so me defende

And saue me fro the fendes boste

That I may appere with that blessyd hoste

That shall be saued at the dome

In manus tuas of myghtes moste

For euer cōmendo spiritum meum.

knowlege. Nowe hath he suffered that we shall endure

The good dedes shall make all sure

Nowe hath he made endynge

Me thynke that I here aungels synge

And maketh grete ioye and melodye

Where euery mannes soule shall receyued be.

* * * * *

Unto the whiche all ye shall come

That lyueth well after the daye of dome.

Doctoure. This memory all men may haue in mynde

Ye herers take it a worthe olde and yonge

And forsake pryde for he deceyues you in the ende
 And remēbre beaute v. wyttes strength and discrecion
 They all at last do euery man forsake
 Saue his good deedes there do he take
 But beware for and they be small
 Before god he hathe no helpe at all
 None excuse may be there for euery man
 Alas howe shall he do than
 For after deth amendes may no man make
 For than marcy and pyte dothe hym forsake
 If his rekenynge be not clere whan he do come
 God wyll say ite maledicti in ignem eternum
 And he that hath his accounte hole and sounde
 Hye in heuen he shall be crounde
 Unto whiche please god brynge us all thether
 That we may lyue body and soule togyder
 Therto helpe the trinyte
 Amen saye ye for saynt charyte.¹

¶ FINIS.

¶ Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the
 Sygne of the George by Rycharde Pynson
 prynter unto the Kynges noble grace.

¹ The variations between this and the later copies by Skot are sometimes important—more than mere literal changes. The old non-punctuation is exactly observed in what precedes.

ART. XVIII.—*Remarks on the conduct of Hamlet towards Ophelia.*

The conduct of Hamlet towards Ophelia has been so generally condemned by the readers of Shakespeare as useless and wanton cruelty, that to attempt any extenuation of it may appear presumptuous; yet the hope of success in such a cause will, I trust, afford an excuse for the following remarks, even should the reasons adduced not be deemed sufficient to warrant the conclusion. The idea originally suggested itself while reading an old history of Denmark, abridged from Saxo Grammaticus; and the story, as there related, tends to prove, if proof were wanting, how the basest materials were purified and turned to gold by the poet's magic touch.

In referring to the play, act ii., scene 2, we shall find the first arrangement for this interview between Hamlet and Ophelia made by Polonius, and proposed by him to the King, who has scarcely acceded to it before Hamlet enters, *reading*, the Queen and Polonius even continuing their discourse after he has made his appearance, probably concluding, from his apparent insanity, that their words will pass unnoted. But let us remember that Hamlet was more than a match for the crafty and crooked policy of the court of Denmark, as we find more particularly in the latter part of the play, when Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are "hoist with their own petar"—Hamlet having declared that "he would delve a yard below their mines, and blow them at the moon"—may he not, therefore, on the present occasion, have assumed a studious aspect, in order to seem as if he heeded them not, when, in reality, he had overheard that part of the conversation which immediately preceded his appearance? This conclusion gains strength when we read what immediately follows; for, on Polonius saying,

“Do you know me?” he replies, “Excellent well; you are a fishmonger.” And that this word was used in a figurative sense, perhaps somewhat as we should now apply the word ferret, or as a dealer in baits, is evident from Johnson’s quotation from Carew, a writer contemporary with our author—“I could well play the fishmonger,” which seems to indicate that Hamlet was aware of Polonius’s being engaged in some underhand policy; and that he knew Ophelia was to play her part in it is evident from the caution which follows respecting her, which the old man loses sight of in his joy at hearing his daughter alluded to. At the conclusion of this scene, we find Polonius speaking, apparently *not aside*, but *openly*, of “suddenly contriving the means of meeting between Hamlet and his daughter,” still under the common, but very erroneous impression that deranged persons neither hear nor understand what is uttered in their presence.

In the next scene, when Polonius, in a pompous speech, announces the arrival of the players, Hamlet exclaims, quoting the old song, “‘O, Jephthah, Judge of Israel,’ what a treasure hadst thou!”

“*Pol.* What a treasure had he, my lord?

“*Ham.* Why, ‘One fair daughter and no more;
The which he loved passing well.’”

“*Pol.* Still on my daughter.

“*Ham.* Am I not i’ the right, old Jephthah?

“*Pol.* If you call me Jephthah, my lord, I have a daughter that I love passing well.

“*Ham.* Nay, that follows not.”

Is not the interpretation of this passage, that it follows not that you are like Jephthah, in loving your daughter—but in your shameful sacrifice of her; and afterwards Hamlet, by saying that “the first row of the pious chanson *will show further*,” makes us anxiously turn to it for an explanation of

his meaning: it has been preserved, and is thus given by Bishop Percy;

“Great wars there should be,
And who should be the chief but he.”

Is this intended to point to Polonius as a great cause of mischief, while he receives all these allusions with the same blindness as before?

Then follows the scene in question, in which the King is so great a bungler, that one far less acute than Hamlet would immediately perceive that some secret design was at work; for when Hamlet arrives at the place appointed by the King, there is no one present but Ophelia.

It is remarkable that in the two quarto editions I have had an opportunity of referring to, (those of 1605 and 1611) Hamlet enters before Polonius says, “I hear him coming, let’s withdraw, my lord,” instead of entering after it, as in the usually received text. This appears to me to have escaped the notice of the commentators. May not Hamlet be supposed to have seen them on his entrance?

This circumstance, added to his previous knowledge of their schemes, was sufficient to convince him that it was the pre-arranged meeting; and when we recall all the foregoing circumstances, we should rather have been amazed had he treated her with any show of affection, than at the apparently cold-hearted and cruel manner in which he addresses her. First, let us suppose him aware that the King and Polonius were listening behind the arras—but this is by no means all: he has found that Ophelia, who had been to him as a bright green spot in the desert of his existence, whom he had regarded as pure and innocent amid the surrounding corruptions of the court, that she too has lent herself to play a part in this scheme, and has submitted to become a tool and a bait in the hands of his enemies; for he could neither be aware how far

she was not an artful and a willing tool, nor that her previously assumed coldness had been merely the result of her father's advice. Would not this conduct be indeed sufficient to convince him that he had been utterly deceived in her, and to render any love she might profess for him worse than worthless. Though we must pity Ophelia, and regard her as having been drawn into such an act without being aware that she was playing the part of a traitress, yet we cannot entirely acquit her; and we must feel assured that, had she really loved Hamlet, she would have resisted to the utmost the commands of her father, instead of sitting down calmly with the book of prayers in her hand, "that show of such an exercise might colour her loneliness." Even Polonius, in the lines that follow, expresses his opinion of such hypocrisy :

"—— We are oft to blame in this.

'Tis too much proved that with devotion's visage,
And pious action we do sugar o'er
The devil himself."

We may therefore feel assured that Shakespeare never intended Ophelia to be held utterly blameless, but rather as one so early trained in habits of implicit obedience to her father, as to follow his dictates without looking to any higher principle. Even after Hamlet has quitted her, she has no compunctious visitings, when she laments in such pathetic terms his apparent aberration of mind; and we feel she is not one who would exclaim with Viola—

"Disguise, I see thou art a wickedness——"

Can we then wonder that Hamlet should disclaim all love for her? No! our surprise would rather have been excited had he followed an opposite course; and the bitter disappointment he has experienced in her is expressed when she remarks on the prologue, "'Tis brief, my lord," and he rejoins, "As woman's love." This is, I believe, generally supposed to refer

to the Queen, yet the passage can scarcely admit of such an interpretation; for, however disgraceful and sudden was her forgetfulness of her husband, the term "*brief*" could not apply to a love which was said to have lasted thirty years. The offensive conversation addressed by Hamlet to Ophelia in this scene is no doubt intended to show how much she was lowered in his estimation. And what that disappointment must have been to such a heart as Hamlet's, we are shown in his beautiful and touching address to Horatio, (act iii., scene 2) whom he seems at this moment to seize hold of, as some object by which to relieve the overflowings of his heart.

" Give me that man
That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
In my heart's core; ay, in my heart of heart,
As I do thee.—Something too much of this——"

Though it is not until after the death of Ophelia that by his passionate conduct over her grave he gives full expression to the sentiments he had really entertained for her:

" I loved Ophelia: forty thousand brothers,
Could not, with all their quantity of love,
Make up my sum."

Since the above paper was written, I have met with an interpretation of Hamlet's conduct to Ophelia, in some respects similar to the explanation here offered. It is in the edition of Shakespeare by the Rev. W. Harness. The passage is as follows:—

"The severity displayed by Hamlet to Ophelia has been the occasion of much discussion. It appears to me, that, on first perceiving her, he approaches her with gentleness and affection—'Nymph, in thy orisons be all my sins remembered.' On her returning his gifts, he begins to suspect that, like his schoolfellows, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, she is also an

emissary of the King's, and confederated against him. Perhaps by an accidental glance of the eye he discovers where the King and Polonius are watching the result of the interview, and assumes a severity of manner not only to deceive them, but in punishment of the treachery of Ophelia. The hint of Ophelia's character is taken from a young woman mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus, who was employed to betray Hamlet."

I am induced, in conclusion, to make a few brief remarks on some of Shakespeare's tragic heroines, who, although represented as endowed with great and noble virtues, or amiable qualities, are nevertheless not intended to be presented to us as perfect; for, on consideration, we shall find that their sad ends are the consequence of some failing point of conduct, though it is worthy of remark that we have not one example afforded us of attractive female frailty, nor do we even contemplate the possibility of their honour being tainted. Thus, without recapitulating what has been said of Ophelia, that of Cordelia may be traced to her having no small share of pride and obstinacy, for she might in the first instance have replied with more courtesy to her father, without any compromise of her dignity; that of Desdemona to her evasion, and want of openness respecting the loss of the handkerchief, and her wearying importunities in favour of Cassio; and that of Queen Katherine to the only occasion on which she appears other than the dignified and high-minded Queen—her altercation with Wolsey.

G. M. ZORNLIN.

December 23rd, 1846.

ART. XIX.—*The original Patent for the Nursery of Actors and Actresses in the reign of Charles II.*

The document I now furnish is quite as new as that I transmitted about a month ago for insertion in "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," although of a later date—indeed so late, that I am in some doubt whether it does not belong to a period of our stage history not included in the original prospectus. However, perceiving that in the last volume of "Papers" an article is inserted relating to the year 1667, I send the enclosed, a few years earlier in point of date, at a venture, thinking that its singularity, and the fact that it has never been mentioned anywhere, will warrant its publication. The fact to which it refers was known, but this is the first time the document was ever produced.

It relates mainly to the establishment of what was called "the Nursery" for the education and instruction of performers, male and female, to recruit the companies of the king under Killigrew, and of the Duke of York under Davenant; and in the outset it recites the Patent already granted to those two managers: it also speaks of a third grant to George Jolly, dated 24 December, 1660, which Killigrew and Davenant had purchased, in order to keep a rival out of the field; and it then proceeds to authorize William Legge, one of the grooms of the bedchamber, (ancestor of the present Earl of Dartmouth) to erect a third theatre, for the performance of "boys and girls," under the name of "the Nursery," in which they were to be trained up, and withdrawn from time to time, by Killigrew and Davenant, and transplanted either to the King's theatre, in Drury Lane, or to the Duke's theatre, near Lincoln's Inn Fields.

We know not of whom the young company under Legge consisted, but there can be no doubt that some of our earliest

actresses, after the Restoration, were educated there. We learn from Dryden's "Mc Flecknoe" that this "Nursery" was in Barbican: he is speaking of the houses of ill-fame in that neighbourhood.

"Near those a Nursery erects its head,
Where queens are form'd, and future heroes bred;
Where unfledg'd actors learn to laugh and cry,
Where infant punks their tender voices try,
And little Maximins the gods defy."

How long "the Nursery" existed I have not ascertained, but it is mentioned in the Duke of Buckingham's "Rehearsal," first printed I believe in 1672, but first acted, I apprehend, nine or ten years before, when Sir Robert Howard, instead of Dryden, was the object of its ridicule. We have it on the authority of Gerard Langbaine, in 1691, that "many years ago" he had seen Chapman's "Revenge for Honour," acted "at the Nursery."—*Acc. of Dram. Poets*, p. 64. I do not think I need say anything more by way of preface to what follows, excepting that, singularly enough, I do not find any mention of the Nursery in Down's *Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708, although he must have been living when it was in full operation. Any members of the Shakespeare Society who can give farther information on the subject will oblige

THOMAS EDLYNE TOMLINS.

Islington, 4 May, 1847.

QUARTA PARS PATENTUM DE ANNO REGNI CAROLI SECUNDI
SEXTO DECIMO. 1664, mch 30.

"Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, &c., To all to whom theis Presents shall come Greeting.

"Whereas, in and by our Lettres Patents under our Great Seale of England, beareing date the five and twentieth day of

April 25, 1662
Aprill, in the foureteenth yeare of our raigne, Wee did graunt to our trustie and welbeloved servant, Thomas Killigrew, Esquire, one of the groomes of our bedchamber, and to his heyres and assignes, full power, lycence, and authoritie that hee, they, and every of them, by him and themselves, and by all and every such person and persons as hee or they should depute or appoint, and his and their labourers, servants, and workemen should and might lawfully, peaceably, and quietly frame, erect, new build, and sett upp, in any place within our citties of London and Westminster, or the suburbes thereof, where he or they should find best accomodation for that purpose, to bee assigned and allotted out by the surveyor of our workes, one theatre or playhouse, with such necessary tyreing and retyring roomes and other places convenient, of such extent and demension as the said Thomas Killigrew, his heyres or assignes, should thinke fitting, where Tragedies, Comedies, Playes, Operas, Musique, Sceanes, and all other Entertainments of the stage whatsoever, may bee shewed and presented.

“ And Wee did thereby, for us, our heyres and successors, grant unto the said Thomas Killigrew, his heyres and assignes, full power, licence, and authoritie from time to time to gather together, entertayne, governe, priviledge, and keepe such and soe many players and persons to exercise and act Tragedyes, Comedies, Playes, Operas, and other performances of the stage, within the said house soe erected or to bee erected and built as aforesaid, as should seeme meete for the makeing upp of one severall company for the said Thomas Killigrew, to be called The servants of us and our deare consort, and to consist of such number as the said Thomas Killigrew, his heyres or assignes, should thinke meete, with severall priviledges, liberties, and immunities in the said Letters Patent conteyned, as therein will more fully appeare.

“ And whereas Wee did alsoe by our Letters Patents, under the great seale of England, beareing date the fifteenth day of January, in the said foureteenth yeare of our raigne, graunt unto our

Jan. 15 1663

trustie and welbeloved Sir William Davenant, knight, and his heyres, libertie to erect another playhouse, and to gather together another company for acting of playes and other exercises of the stage, the which said other company, to be erected by the said Sir William Davenant, were to bee called The servants of our dearely beloved brother, James, Duke of Yorke, with severall liberties, priviledges, and immunities, in our said last recyted Letters Patents conteyned, as thereby may further appeare, and did by our said severall recyted Letters Patents graunt and prohibite that none other should, from the severall dates of the said respective recyted Letters Patents, act or represent Comedies, Tragedies, Playes, or Entertainements of the stage within our said citties of London and Westminster, or the suburbes thereof, as by the said severall Letters Patents, relation being thereunto had, may alsoe appeare.

“ And whereas Wee had formerly, by warrant under our privy signett, beareing date att Whitehall the foure and twentieth day of December, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred and sixtie, given and graunted to George Jolly, gentleman, full power and authoritie to erect one company, consisting respectively of such as hee should chuse and appoint, and to purchase, build, or hyre, att his costs and charges, one house or theatre, with all convenient roomes and other necessarys thereunto apperteyneing, for the representation of Tragedies, Commedies, Playes, Operas, Farses, and all other Entertainements of that nature, in any convenient place, and to establish payments for such as should resort to the same, the said company to bee under the government of the said George Jolly, as by the said warrant may appeare; of which said warrant the said George Jolly had made noe use, nor was any graunt passed under our great seale by vertue thereof, but the said George Jolly, in and by articles of agreement under his hand and seale, made betweene him, the said George Jolly, on the one part, and the said Thomas Killigrew and the said William Davenant on th’ other part, dated the thirtieth day of

1660 =
12th yr.
(from Jan 30, 1649)
See patent in
Collins H.2.D.P.
II 48-49.

^{Dec. 20, 1662}
December, in the foureteenth yeare of our raigne, did, for the consideration therein mentioned, actually deliver the said warrant or graunt to the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, and such benefitt as hee might clayme thereby, and did thereby agree that the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant should have the full use and benefitt thereof in such manner as by the same may appeare.

“ And whereas the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant have, by their petition to us presented, signified their consent and humbly besought us to graunt and confirme unto William Legg, Esquire, one of the groomes of our bed-chamber, his heyres and assignes, power, libertie, licence, and authoritie to erect and make a theatre, and to gather together boyes and girles and others, to bee instructed in the nature of a Nursery, for the trayneing upp of persons to act playes, to bee from time to time approved by the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, their heyres and assignes, and the said company to bee under the gouvernement of the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, their heyres and assignes, to the intent that the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, their heyres and assignes, according to such agreements as are or shall bee had and made betweene them and the said William Legg and his heyres in that behalfe, may, out of the said company to be graunted and confirmed to the said William Legge and his heyres, take out actors, and remove the said boyes and girles and other actors soe to bee there instructed, for the supply of each of their said companyes, as shall bee meete.

“ Now, know yee that Wee, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, have given and graunted, and by theis presents, for us, our heyres, and successors, doe give and graunt unto the said William Legge, his heyres and assignes, full power, lycence, and authoritie that hee, they, and every of them, by him and themselves, and by all and every such person and persons as hee or they shall depute or appoint,

and his and their labourers, servants, and workemen, shall and may lawfully, peaceably, and quietly frame, erect, and new build, and set upp, or otherwise purchase or procure, in any place within our citties of London and Westminster, or the suburbes thereof, wherein hee or they shall find best accommodation for that purpose, to bee assigned and allotted out or approved by the surveyor of our workes for the time being, one theatre or playhouse, with such necessary tyreing and re-tyreing roomes and other places convenient, of such extent and dimensions as hee or they shall thinke fitting, wherein tragedies, Comedies, Playes, Operas, Musique, Sceanes, and all other Entertainments of the stage whatsoever, may be shewed and presented.

“ And Wee do hereby, for us, our heyres, and successors, graunt unto the said William Legg, his heyres and assignes, full power, licence, and authoritie from time to time to gather together, entertaine, governe, priviledge, and keepe such and soe many players and persons to exercise and act Tragedies, Comedies, Playes, Operas, and other performances of the stage within the said house, soe to bee erected or built as aforesaid, as to him or them shall from time to time seeme meete, for the makeing upp and supplying of a company for acting of playes, and instructing boyes and gyrles in the art of playing, to bee in the nature of a Nursery, from time to time to be removed to the said two severall theatres abovementioned, which said company shall bee called by the name of a Nursery.

“ And Wee doe hereby graunt full power and authoritie to the said William Legg, his heyres and assignes, the said persons soe by him and them gathered together and erected, to permitt and continue from time to time to act playes and entertainments of the stage of all sorts, peaceably and quietly, without the impeachment or impediment of any person or persons whatsoever, for the honest recreation of such as shall desire to see the same: and that itt shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said William Legg, his heyres and assignes, to

take and receive of such as shall resort to see or heare any such playes, sceanes, and entertainements whatsoever, such summe or summes of money as have bin heretofore given or taken in the like kind.

“And Wee do here by theis presents graunt to the said William Legg, his heyres and assignes, that the said company soe to bee erected by the said William Legg, his heyres or assignes, shall bee subject to the gouvernement of the said William Legg, his heyres and assignes, and alsoe under the oversight, rule, and order of the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, their heyres and assignes: and that the said William Legg and his heyres, and the said company so by him to bee gathered by vertue of theis presents, shall conforme in all things to such orders as the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, their heyres and assignes, shall from time to time sett downe, and shall act in such place, manner, and time, and forbear acting, and be subject to such removes for the supply of the said two severall theaters above-mentioned, as they the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, their heires and assignes, shall from time to time appoint.

“And Wee doe hereby graunt power unto the said William Legg and his heyres and assignes, with the approbation of the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, their heyres and assignes, and not otherwise, to make such allowances to the severall players to be employed in the said Nursery as to him and them shall seeme meete.

“And Wee doe hereby declare that the profitts ariseing and comeing by the acting of plaies by the company to bee erected by the said William Legg, his heyres and assignes, by vertue of theis presents, and the full benefitt accrewing thereby, shalbe disposed and employed as shall, by articles likewise betweene the said William Legg and the said Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, be agreed on for the purpose.

“And We doe expressly hereby prohibite that any obscene,

scandalous, or offensive passages be brought upon the stage, but such onely shalbe there had and used, as may consist with harmeless and inoffensive delights and recreations.

“And theis our Letters Patents, or the inrollment thereof, shalbe in all things good and effectuell in the law, according to the true intent and meaneing of the same, anything in theis presents conteined, or any law, statute, act, ordinance, proclamation, provision, or restriction, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding, although express mention &c.

“In witness, &c. Witness ourselfe at Westminster, the xxxth day of March.

“Per BRE. DE PRIVATO SIGILLO.”

ART. XX.—*On the word "Scamels," in Shakespeare's
"Tempest."*

Shakespeare in his play of the "Tempest," act ii., scene 2, makes Caliban say,

"I pr'ythee, let me bring thee where crabs grow ;
And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts ;
Show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how
To snare the nimble marmozet ; I'll bring thee
To clustering filberds ; and sometimes I'll get thee
Young scamels from the rock."

Now the above mentioned word "scamels" has been altered to sea-mells in some late editions,¹ under the idea that it means those sea-gulls which are called sea-mells, sea-malls, sea-maws, or sea-mews. But the question is whether the allusion is to those birds or to the ancient British word *samol*, which is referred to in the Rev. Mr. Whitaker's "History of Manchester," vol. ii., p. 130, as follows:—

"We have three or four plants pointed out to us by the ancients, that were peculiarly the favourites of the Druids. One was what they denominated the samol, and which has been very differently interpreted, as the botanical mind had no standard of determination, but was probably, as the L and the R are frequently interchanged, the seamar, or wild trefoil, to which the Irish Britons pay a particular attention at present, wearing it in their hats on St. Patrick's day under the diminutive appellation of seamrog. This was esteemed an excellent remedy for all the diseases of their droves and herds, if it was bruised and then mingled with the water that the cattle drank. But when it was gathered in the swamps where it grew, it was

¹ See the note to Knight's edition.

constantly plucked by the left hand alone; and the simpler was fasting, never looked back while he gathered it, and deposited it no where till he put it into the watering-troughs.¹

I merely throw this out as a conjecture, as perhaps much may be said for and against both interpretations.

JABEZ ALLIES.

Lower Wick, Worcester,

May 22, 1847.

¹ Pliny, lxxiv., c. 11.

ART. XXI.—*A Poem containing notices of Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, Massinger, &c.*

The following curious poem is extracted from a very scarce little volume, entitled, “Choyce Drollery, Songs, and Sonnets, being a collection of divers excellent pieces of poetry of severall eminent authors, never before printed,” 12mo., London, 1656. Only two copies of this work have occurred at sales: Heber’s fetched £6 16s. 6d.; see Bibl. Heberiana, part iv., p. 90.

On the Time-Poets.

One night, the great Apollo, pleas’d with Ben,
Made the odde number of the Muses ten;
The fluent Fletcher, Beaumont rich in sense,
In complement and courtships quintessence;
Ingenious Shakespeare; Massinger, that knowes
The strength of plot to write in verse and prose,
Whose easie Pegassus will amble ore
Some threescore miles of fancy in an houre;
Cloud-grapling Chapman, whose aerial minde
Soares at philosophy, and strikes it blinde;
Daubourn I had forgot, and let it be,
He dy’d Amphibion by the ministry;
Silvester Bartas, whose translatique part
Twinn’d or was elder to our laureat;
Divine composing Quarles, whose lines aspire¹

The April of all poesy in May,
Who makes our English speak Pharsalia;
Sands metamorphos’d so into another,
We know not Sands and Ovid from each other;
He that so well on Scotus play’d the man,
The famous Diggs, or Leonard Claudian;

¹ A line is here wanting in the original.

The pithy Daniel, whose salt lines afford
A weighty sentence in each little word ;
Heroick Draiton, Withers, smart in rime—
The very poet-beadles of the time ;
Pann's pastorall Brown, whose infant muse did squeak
At eighteen yeares better than others speak ;
Shirley, the morning child, the muses bred,
And sent him born with bayes upon his head ;
Deep in a dump John Ford alone was got,
With folded armes and melancholly hat ;
The squibbing Middleton, and Haywood sage,
Th' apologetick atlas of the stage ;
Well of the Golden Age he could intreat,
But little of the mettall he could get ;
Threescore sweet babes he fashion'd from the lump,
For he was christ'ned in Parnassus' pump ;
The Muses gossip to Aurora's bed,
And ever since that time his face was red.
Thus through the horreur of infernall deeps,
With equal pace, each of them softly creeps,
And, being dark, they had Alector's torch,
And that made Churchyard follow from his porch,
Poor, ragged, torn, and tackt, alack, alack,
You'd think his clothes were pinn'd upon his back ;
The whole frame hung with pins, to mend which clothes,
In mirth they sent him to old father Prose :
Of these sad poets, this way ran the stream,
And Decker followed after in a dream ;
Rounce, Robble, Hobble, he that writ so high big,
Basse for a ballad, John Shank for a jig :
Sent by Ben Johnson, as some authors say,
Broom went before, and kindly swept the way ;
Old Chaucer welcomes them unto the green,
And Spencer brings them to the Fairy Queen ;

The finger they present, and she in grace
Transform'd it to a May-pole, 'bout which trace
Her skipping servants, that do nightly sing,
And dance about the same a fayrie ring.

It is seldom we find in one piece so many notices of our early poets, and some contained in the above convey curious information. The mention of Shank appears to have escaped Mr. Collier's researches in his life of that actor. The notice of Heywood is very curious. His play of "The Golden Age" was published in 1611.

J. O. HALLIWELL.

August 8, 1847.

ART. XXII.—*Had Shakespeare read Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?*

As I lately met with a curious illustration of a passage in Henry V., while turning over the leaves of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, I am tempted to offer it to the Shakespeare Society, together with a few remarks upon it.

Mr. Knight has shown that Shakespeare followed Cavendish in several of the more important scenes of Henry VIII., either from an acquaintance with his book, or through Holinshed. Assuming that he was not the idle and incurious person it has been the fashion to represent him, we cannot hold it impossible that, if the book were not printed, he was acquainted with some of the several manuscript copies of "The Life of Master Thomas Wolsey," as there seems no adequate reason for supposing that it appeared in print before the year 1641.

Cavendish's account of his accompanying Wolsey on his embassy to France is highly amusing, and it is to a passage in this part of the narrative to which I refer, as affording further testimony to the proofs already adduced, that Shakespeare had studied the work in question, and was not merely indebted to Holinshed.

The gentleman usher mentions having been sent on from Amiens to Campain, (Champagne) to provide lodgings for his lord, when a servant came to him from the castle, perceiving him to be an Englishman, and inviting him thither; "to whom," says he, "I consented, because I desired acquaintance with strangers, especially with those of account and of honourable rank.....and forthwith the lord of the castle came out to me, whose name was Monsieur Crookesly, [le Comte de Crecy] a nobleman born, saying that he was preparing to meet the King [Francis the First] and the Cardinal.....Then he took his leave of me, commanding his steward, and others of

his gentlemen, to conduct me to his lady to dinner. So they led me to the gate-house, where then their lady and mistress lay for the time that the king and chancellor should tarry there. Lady Crookesly came out of her chamber into the dining-room, where I attended her coming, who did receive me very nobly, like herself, she having a train of twelve gentlemen that did attend her. 'Forasmuch,' quoth she, 'as you are an English gentleman, whose custom is to kiss all ladies and gentlewomen without offence, yet it is not so in this realm; notwithstanding, I will be so bold as to kiss you, and so shall you salute all my maids.' After this, we went to dinner, being as nobly served as ever I saw any in England, passing all dinner-time in pleasing discourse."

Thus writes Cavendish; and I think it highly probable that before this, the scene between Henry V. and Katherine has occurred to the reader; but which I trust to stand excused for bringing forward in this place, in order that the resemblance may be clearly shown.

Upon Henry's offering to kiss Katherine's hand, she says, "Je ne veux point que vous abaissez votre grandeur en baisant la main de votre indigne serviteur," &c. Henry says, "Then I will kiss your lips, Kate."

"*Kath.* Les dames et les demoiselles pour etre baisées devent leur nocés, il n'est pas la coùtume en France.

"*K. Hen.* Madam, my interpreter, what says she?

"*Lady.* Dat it is not de fashion pour de ladies of France—I cannot tell what is baiser in English.

"*K. Hen.* To kiss.

"*Lady.* Your majesty entend better que moi.

"*K. Hen.* It is not a fashion for the maids in France to kiss before they are married—would she say?

"*Lady.* Oui, vraiment.

"*K. Hen.* O, Kate, nice customs curt'sy to great kings. Dear Kate, you and I cannot be confined within the weak list of a country's fashion: we are the makers of manners, Kate,

and the liberty that follows our places stops the mouths of all find-faults, as I will do yours, for upholding the nice fashions of your country in denying me a kiss."

Now, in looking at these two passages, I can hardly believe that the one was not in some measure suggested by the other; and this scene forms a curious contrast with that in Henry VIII., where the monarch first sees Anne Bullen, and addresses these words to her—

"Sweetheart,
I were *unmannerly* to take you out,
And *not to kiss you*."

The whole scene being in strict accordance with the account of the revels at York Place, so graphically described by Cavendish; and perhaps the word "unmannerly" may even have been used in consequence of the author's having reflected on the different custom of the two nations in this particular, and which in later years seems to have undergone a singular change—as the salute, which would be considered a great liberty by our own fair countrywomen, is far more allowable if bestowed on the ladies of the opposite side of the Channel.

J. HAWKINS ROBINSON.

July 14th, 1847.

ART. XXIII.—*New Facts in the Life of Thomas Nash, the Prose Satirist and Poet.*

My friend, Mr. Albert Way, while stopping at Lowestoft, in Suffolk, in the summer of the present year, was induced at my request to examine the parish registers of the town, and extract whatever entries he could find in the earlier volumes relating to the family of Nash. I was led to make this request, remembering the poet's allusion to the place—"The head town in that island is Leystofe, in which, bee it knowne to all men, I was borne, though my father sprang from the Nashes of Herefordshire."

The registers at Lowestoft commence in 1561, and under the year 1567 the following christening is recorded:

"1567. *Nouember* [no day given] *Thomas the son of Wyllyam Nayshe minester and Margaret his W.*"

This, then, is the poet who was hitherto thought to have been born "about the year 1564."

William Nash, the father, only officiated at Lowestoft, but was never instituted to the vicarage. He appears to have succeeded Thomas Downing in 1559; and in 1573 the name of Mr. William Bentlye, "vikar," is placed at the foot of the several entries in the register. He appears to have been twice married; the Christian name of his wife being in both instances Margaret. This I gather from the entries in the register, the burial register for 1561-2 recording the interment of "Margaret, the wyffe of Wyllyam Nayshe, ministar," and the baptismal registry containing the following entries (of a subsequent date) relating to the children of "Wyllyam Nayshe, minester, and Margaret, his wife."

"1561-2. *February 6. Mary the daughter of Wyllyam Nayshe minester.*"

"1563. June 12. *Nathaniell y^e sonn of Wyllyam Nayshe minester and Margaret his wyfe.*"

"1565. Aug. 17. *Israell y^e. sonn of Wyllyam Nayshe minester and Margret his wyfe.*"

"1567. Nouember [no day given]. *Thomas the sonn of Wyllyam Nayshe minester and Margaret his W.*"

"1570. May 26. *Martha the daughter of Wyllyam Nayshe p'cher and Margaret his wife.*"

"1572. April 13. *Martha the daughter of Wyllyam Nayshe minister and Margaret his W.*"

"1573. Dec. 6. *Rebeca the daughter of Wyllyam Nayshe minister and Margaret his W.*"

Nathaniel, the eldest son, died when two years and a half old, and was buried at Lowestoft.

"1565. Dec. 7. *Nathaniell the son of Wyllyam Nayshe minester.*"

Israel, the second son, was married at Lowestoft 20 July, 1590, to "Anne Grene;" Martha, the second daughter, was buried 27th April, 1571.

"1571. April 27. *Martha the daughter of Wyllyam Nayshe minester.*"

And the second Martha was buried at the same place, on the 14th August, 1572. Two daughters, the eldest and youngest, Mary and Rebecca, and two sons, Israel and Thomas, survived their childhood.

Thomas, the youngest son "of Wyllyam Nayshe, minester, and Margaret, his wife," was born at Lowestoft, in 1567, and entered of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of B.A., in 1585. His residence at St. John's is remembered in his writings, where, when noticing Ascham's small commendation of the herring-men of Yarmouth for any cunning sailing at all, he adds, I will not quarrel with Ascham,

for "he was her maiesties schoolemaster, and at St. John's, in Cambridge, in which house once I tooke up my inne for seuen yere together, lacking a quarter, and yet loue it still, for it is and euer was the sweetest nurse of knowledge in all that University." Of his after history, the little that is known seems to have been spent in London in controversy and altercation—in an overflow of coarse but ready wit, and violent invective.

His earliest printed production was his prefatory epistle to Greene's "Menaphon," 1587, and his latest "A Pleasant Comedie called Summer's last Will and Testament," printed in 1600, and reprinted in the last edition of Dodsley's Old Plays. He assisted Marlowe in the tragedy of "Dido," and was assisted by others in what he calls "that unfortunate, imperfect embrion of my idle hours, the Isle of Dogs.....An imperfect embrio I may well call it; for I hauing begun but the induction and first act of it, the other five acts, without my consent, or the least guesse of my drift or scope, by the players were supplied, which bred both their trouble and mine too." He was imprisoned in the Fleet on account of this unfortunate play; and the poet in fetters, with long, lank hair, is the subject of a woodcut in one of the pamphlets written against him by his unequal antagonist, Gabriel Harvey. The play was written for Henslowe's company.

Nash's tracts deserve collection. The best are, "An Almond for a Parrot," "Pierce Penniless," and his "Have with you to Saffron Walden." If his poetical merits seem unusually slender, there is the praise of Drayton, when Nash had long been in his grave, to preserve the memory of his poetical powers:—

"Surely Nash, though he a proser were,
A branch of laurel well deserv'd to bear—
Sharply satiric was he."

Nor was he unwilling to be regarded as a poet. "We measure the excellency of other men," says Selden, "by some

excellency we conceive to be in ourselves. Nash, a poet, poor enough, (as poets used to be) seeing an alderman with his gold chain, upon his great horse, by way of scorn, said to one of his companions, 'Do you see yon fellow, how goodly, how big he looks? Why, that fellow cannot make a blank verse.'"

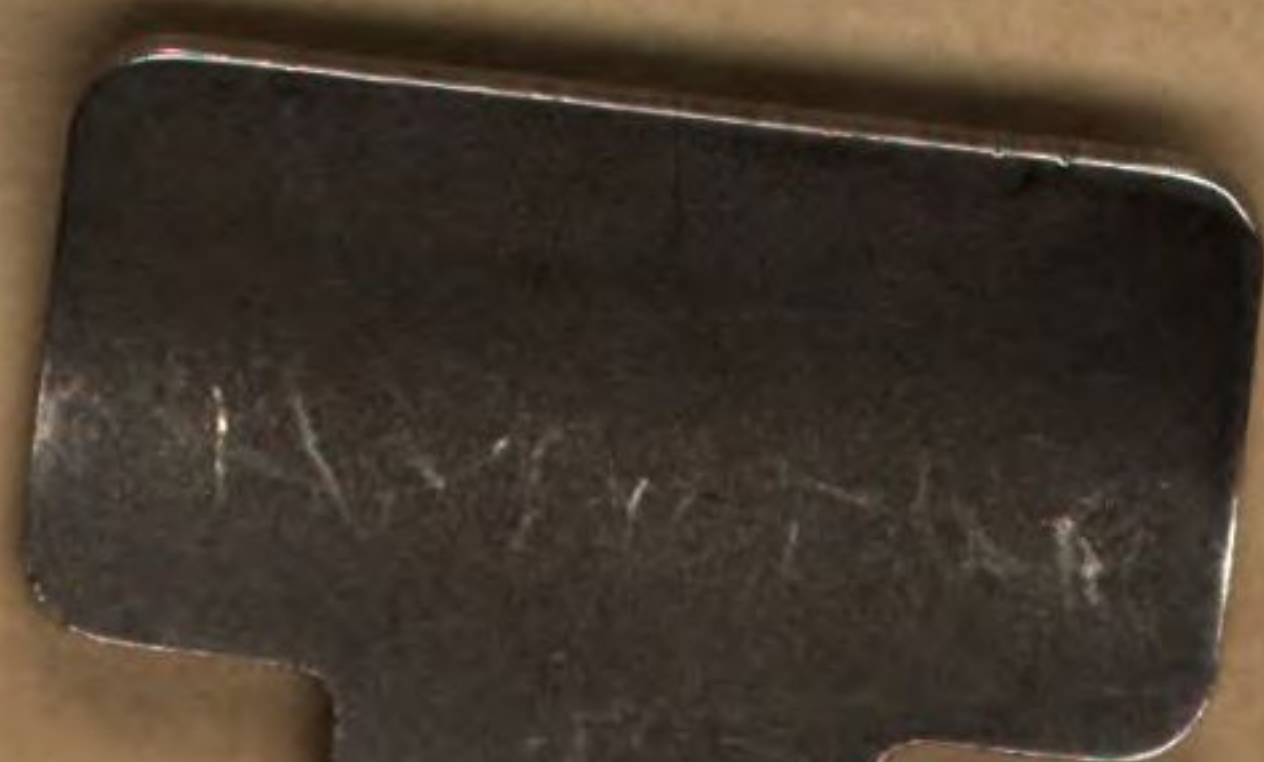
I have only to add that Nash was dead in or before 1601, and that the father was buried at Lowestoft 25th August, 1603.

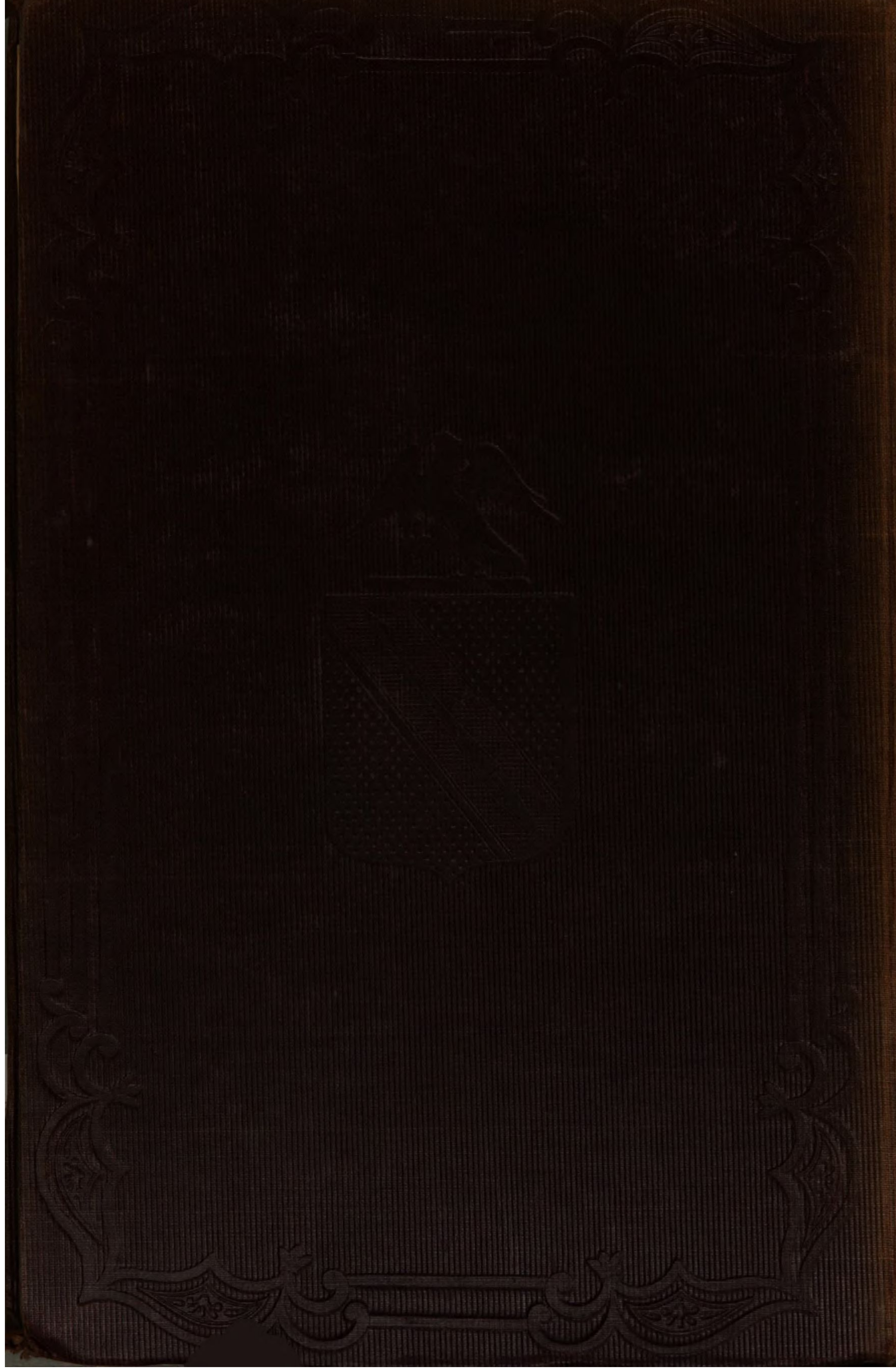
PETER CUNNINGHAM.

Kensington, 17th August, 1847.

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